JPRS 79452

16 November 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1941

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ROLE OF MATERIAL INCENTIVES IN ENSURING PLAN FULFILLMENT

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Jun 81 pp 25-32

[Article by Mihal Ziu and Kico Ziso: "The Correct Utilization of Moral and Material Incentives--An Important Factor in the Fulfillment of the Plan Tasks"]

[Text] The correct utilization and combination of moral and material incentives, as a means for perfecting the management of the economy, play an important role in the process of activization of the factors for increasing social production. Their utilization in socialism is an objective necessity; their effectiveness, however, depends on the position they hold, the level of utilization and the relationship established between them. The establishment of correct relationships between them is, especially, a great principled matter with direct consequences not only for the development of productive forces, but also for the development of socialist relations in production and the education of workers in the virtues of communist morality.

The Albanian Workers Party has always followed a correct deeply revolutionary policy in the utilization of moral and material incentives, combining them in every stage of the revolution and of the building of socialism, in accordance with the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism, for strengthening and continually developing our socialist system and for perfecting relationships in production and for maintaining them pure. In this process, the party has always taken into consideration the harmonization of interests and has been guided by the principle that relationships between moral and material incentives are continually improved by expanding the socialist revolution, giving an increasingly greater priority to moral incentives.

This reality is based on social property and on the entire complex of relationships born and built in this basis in our socialist society; while, the keeping and continual strengthening of the socialist nature of these relationships, along with the great development of productive forces and improvement of material and cultural well-being of the working masses and of their socialist awareness, makes it possible for the greater factors and ideals of socialism and communism to assume greater priority every day and to become more valuable in encouraging the people in productive and creative activities. It is precisely these reasons with deep political, ideological, economic and moral content which encourage our workers to place general interest above everything else and, within this framework, to satisfy their personal interest, too, and to carry out heroic acts and acts of self-sacrifice when they are needed to protect common property and interests of the people and of socialism; these are characteristics which cannot be found in the capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries, because, in these countries exploitation of man by man and material pro-

fits, as the only means of encouragement in work and production, are the basic characteristic of relationships in production.

Of course, this ever increasing priority of moral factors and of moral incentives do not exclude the position held and important role played by material interests and the correct utilization of material incentives which are synthesized in the basic principles of compensation of socialism, that is, "to each according to his work." However, in the practical execution of this principle, our party during the entire period of our socialist construction devoted a particular attention to its implementation on the revolutionary path in such a way that material interests and material incentives do not become a purpose in themselves and, even less, the only purpose of encouragement; they must not tarnish the moral factors and moral incentives and, even more so, they must not oppose them; finally, they must not create great differences in compensations; and there must never be a return to the creation of privileged strata and classes as it happened in the revisionist countries with the creation of the strata and classes of new bourgeoisie.

Harmonization of moral interest and of moral incentives, relying on the level of socialist awareness and on material interest, with material incentives and, on this basis, the harmonization of moral and material work with moral and material responsibility in work and the right to work with obligation in work--all have been and are at the foundation of the policy of our party in this field. The aim of such a policy is to increase production through the complete participation in work by all workers capable for work, through the improvement of yields and through the rational utilization of work means and projects. Apart from this purpose which expresses the general social interest and, through it, the achievement of personal interest, any other incentive or motive is harmful because it cultivates petit-bourgeois egoism, destroys ideological and political awareness and deteriorates the revolutionary concept about life and productive activity. And life shows that our system of encouragement has been and is correct and revolutionary. It has served the progress of the economy, the perfection of economic management and the class and revolutionary education of workers.

The combination of moral and material incentives and their correct use in accordance with the correct tasks of every stage of development and giving priority to moral incentives, without neglecting material incentives, are important conditions for strengthening the management of the economy in order to encourage workers so that they may use in the best way possible their material and monetary means for increasing production and improving its effectiveness and for widely developing socialist competitions, as one of the moving and mobilizing forces of creative energies of workers.

In our country, work has been liberated from oppression and exploitation. Everybody works for himself and for society. This new social content of work becomes a source of a great moral force since work is guaranteed to our workers and, on this basis, the satisfaction of their living conditions are also guaranteed in our country. Under these conditions work really becomes a matter of honor and glory. This reality makes it possible for moral incentives to assume more and more mobilizing values for the awakening and utilization of creative energies of the working masses.

Our socialist society honores the working people, all the people and, especially, those who distinguish themselves among the other participants of the collective and

shows particular respect to them. For this purpose, there are collective and individual forms of moral incentives such as pennants for distinguished individuals, brigades, units and sectors, honorary certificates for distinguished workers and brigades and other distinctions and decorations with various medals and orders.

In the present stage of the complete building of socialism in our country, objective and subjective conditions have been created for using moral incentives on a larger scale. Thanks to the work of the party, the awareness of the working masses has been elevated to a higher level and the new man has been strengthened and forged in the revolutionary concept. The revolutionary perfection of relationships in production created the conditions for strengthening socialist awareness. The expansion and reinforcement of productive forces increased social production and national revenues and, on this basis, the material situation improved and the people's cultural level was improved. All these things have tempered new moral virtues in our people and an unshakeable conviction in the line of the party, in socialism. Therefore, the unleashing of initiatives and revolutionary movements has become a habitual phenomenon which utilizes socialist competitions. The mass organizations, in response to these activities, are using many kinds of moral incentives which are better and better influencing the mobilization of workers in work. Workers, brigades, sectors and units that are outstanding for plan fulfillment are being popularized by the means of socialist competitions, in meetings and by many other forms.

However, the use of moral incentives does not respond everywhere and always to the rapid rates of our revolutionary development. Thus, in some cases, the use of these incentives suffers from a kind of monotony, from bureaucracy and a campaign aspect. A narrow conception of the role of moral incentives led in some cases to more reliance on formal aspects or to propagandizing positive examples and progressive experiences in a global manner. There also exists the erroneous idea that, allegedly, "big things" must be encouraged. Underestimation of moral incentives has led in some cases to the point that cadres, instead of dealing with the correct use of moral incentives, have discussed "who should deal with this? Is this the task of this or of that sector or of this or of that cadre?" and so forth. These negative manifestations are more apparent during operational meetings dealing with the movement of transitory banners from one worker or from one brigade to another worker or brigade. Delays on the part of some ministries in the distribution of banners and honorary certificates to the most outstanding collectives in socialist competitions also tell about manifestations of underestimation. Thus, the Ministry of Industry and Mines, the Ministry of Agriculture and some other ministries have, in some cases, delivered the pennants and honorary certificates of the Central Commission for Socialist Competitions to some working collectives about 2 months late.

Until now proposals for granting large moral incentives by the enterprises and institutions have been made mainly on the occasion of anniversaries and jubilees. In fact, this is a routine practice. While, life shows that the use of moral incentives on a timely basis, on the spur of the moment, has a very great effect whenever workers do something which benefits society. Speaking on this subject, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that "when moral incentives are granted to those who distinguish themselves for having carried out a commendable work, undoubtedly, such a reasonable encouragement makes an impression; and we will see its consequences both in the increase of labor productivity and in the field of general and individual interest" (Enver Hoxha, Reports and Speeches 1969-1970, p 19). However, in practice, it often happens that, in regard to the granting of moral incentives, this factor is not taken

into consideration and, consequently, there are cases when proposals for the decoration of those who have carried out praiseworthy work is delayed for entire months. This hampers the development of socialist competitions and of revolutionary pride. Also, the badge "Distinguished in Socialist Competitions" is not being used as it should be; it is granted during campaigns and has been given to a limited number of workers, although there are thousands of working people who have achieved good results in production and who deserve to be honored with this kind of badge. Also, the "Certificate for Rationalizations," the granting of titles "Brigade of High Yields" and other insignias are not used as they should be. Such activities and others similar to them weaken the role of moral incentives in promoting production.

Production is also promoted by the knowledge, dissemination and extensive implementation of good experience. The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha teach us that we must use every positive thing that is born, every good thing that people create and do to fulfill and overfulfill the plan tasks. Within the framework an increasing importance is given informing workers as soon as possible of the results of advanced workers not only in their brigades, units and enterprises, but also in other enterprises so that they will not be satisfied solely with their own positive achievements but will struggle to catch up with the most advanced workers at the national level. In this direction it is necessary to encourage the exchange of this experience through the forms of socialist competitions and through production propaganda.

Socialist society uses moral incentives besides material incentives; it will use them as long as the people are materially interested in their own work achievements, in objective conditions, as long as the development of productive forces has not yet reached the level needed to create abundance and to implement the communist principle "to each according to his needs."

As we stressed in the beginning in regard to dealing with material interests, our party has always implemented a correct policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles. It has always taken into consideration the relationship between the general interest and personal interest, giving priority to the general interest. In our country, personal interest has been achieved and is being achieved through the various forms of work compensation and through a number of services which the people receive free from the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for example, in the fields of education and health, in some communal services and so forth which are basic material incentives for workers. However, along with their pay and the services given to them free, the workers of our country also implement their personal interest through some supplementary services which they receive; however, these services are very limited and are implemented only in established cases when they have satisfied the conditions which discipline their use.

Basic material incentives are implemented mainly through the wage system, a system built in harmony with the requirements of the objective economic law of distribution in accordance with the quantity and quality of work. The decision on compensation according to work, as a basic criterion for the distribution of products for personal consumption, is a very powerful material incentive for encouraging the development of production, increasing labor productivity and increasing socialist accumulation and material revenues of workers. Through the correct implementation of the requirements of this law, our party has insured a continuing improvement of the people's wellbeing, strengthened education of the masses in a socialist attitude toward work and social property and continually narrowed differences in the level of revenues and

in the standards of living between the various classes and groups of the population, preventing the creation of privileged strata and favoritism.

However, our system of wages, as the main form of practical implementation of material interest, although constructed since the beginning on healthy bases, needed and needs, time after time, to be re-examined, for a continuing perfection in harmony with the level of our economic development and with the perfection of socialist relationships in production. This was the purpose of the measures which the party has often taken in this field, including the recent measures for the better measurement of and compensation for work done not only according to the quantity of the given product, but also according to indicators of quality and of material expenditures for its implementation.

The continual perfection of the process of setting work norms plays a special role in the most correct implementation of the system of wages. Our party has always attached great importance to this process because, as measurements of work and of compensation, work norms play an important role in correctly implementing the socialist law of distribution in accordance with the quantity and quality of work. The better the norms implement the requirements of this law, the greater their persuasive effect in obtaining better results in production.

However, despite the great work carried out in the field of the perfection of work norming so as to work with norms everywhere, technically based norms, this problem still remains open because, in spite of improvements that have been made, still there are shortcomings and weaknesses. It is a fact that even today we do not work according to norms everywhere; also, the execution of technical work norms is not disseminated on the desired level. There also exist weaknesses in the calculation and establishment of technical norms, especially, in establishing work norms calcualted on the basis of a progressive and unified average at the branch level. In the practice of production, one can also see cases of where great technical norms have been greatly exceeded, indicating that such norms cannot be called technical and, therefore, they must be re-examined on the basis of analytical calculations of the time of every activity. Unification of norms for identical or similar processes and work centers, under current conditions, is a great reserve for increasing production and labor productivity. But, this requires that advanced experience in the field of work norming be studied and disseminated in an organized and directed manner by government and economic organs.

The correct use of material incentives for increasing production also requires strengthening of wage control. In the work practice of our enterprises this problem has been correctly solved in general so that the work volume is measured and payment for received products carried out in accordance with recorded documents. However, there are still cases showing that production reported is for payment not carried out in accordance with the records. Also, when there are verifications of payment for recorded production, and differences and found, the correction of payment is usually done in a global manner, with a single coefficient of correction for all workers or for all sectors. It is obvious that in these cases, regardless of the exactness of work norms, one important function of norms, that of the measurement of compensation, does not work properly. Consequently, their persuasive and regulating effect for increasing labor productivity is reduced, leaving room for the harmful trends of some people who seek to get compensation for unsatisfactory work to the detriment of the collective. Such unsatisfactory activities in work must not be treated simply as occasional shortcomings, but as manifestations of liberalism and of foreign ideological pressure. Therefore, along with increased educational work for improving the level of awareness, the perfection of internal record keeping of products in the enterprises and finding of suitable forms for control in accordance

with special concrete conditions of work are necessary requirements for insuring conformity of compensation which each worker deserves to receive in accordance with the exact amount of work he has done.

The measures recently taken by the party to link workers' wages with the level of the fulfillment of the production plan in quality, quantity, expenditures of raw materials and materials, fuel, electric energy and so forth increase workers' material interest in fulfilling the plan in all its indicators, increasing products and improving their quality and reducing expenditures, strengthening the system of savings by continually reducing production costs and increasing socialist accumulation.

These measures are another expression of the solicitude of the party in the field of the perfection of relationships in distribution; they are a further step in implementing the requirements of the law of distribution according to work in harmony with the stage reached in the economic and social development of the country, on the road to the complete building of our socialist society. They aim at paving the way for the increase of production, harmonized through workers's encouragement to use manpower and products more rationally and with pencil in hand, so as to assure a radical turn toward increasing the effectiveness of the material and financial means of the country and through the maintenance of high ratios in our economic development under the conditions of the fierce imperialist and revisionist encirclement and blockade, fully relying on our own forces.

Additional material incentives have been used and are being used in our economic practice. In contrast to the revisionist countries, where these incentives serve as means for enriching their enterprise managers and other privileged strata, in our country the quantity and level of utilization of these incentives are limited and used mainly in the form of collective stimuli. Special enterprise funds serve this purpose; their creation is conditioned by the fulfillment of some established tasks, such as the fulfillment of production plan and of the tasks to reduce costs and fulfill the enterprise net revenues. While, the incentive nature of this fund, on the basis of the provisions in force, is achieved through its use for granting awards to the very distinguished workers and for compensating inventors and rationalizers, for social and cultural expenditures in favor of collectives, for meeting expenditures for the activation of workers in amateur artistic groups and for granting immediate assistance to various workers in cases of misfortune and so forth.

However, in practice, along with the proper use of this fund in accordance with established criteria, one can see some shortcomings which weaken its incentive role. Thus, in some working collectives one can observe a kind of underevaluation of the collective incentive role of the special fund and of its proper use for social and cultural activities, for the organization of educational and recreational activities, for the creation of cultural centers and so forth. Also, the criteria of the use of special funds for the recompense of distinguished workers, innovators and rationalizers are not always correctly understood and implemented. In some enterprises, workers have been rewarded by sharing between themselves the total amount of special funds intended as compensation for workers without making proper distinction among vanguard workers. In some cases, awards have been granted on the basis of subjective and sentimental concepts. There are also cases when, because of lack of correct understanding and just for the sake of doing it, some leaders have hesitated to use special funds for compensating the most distinguished workers, especially, innovators and rationalizers.

The improvement of the creative and innovative thought of workers for the perfecting of technique and technology, the constructing of new machines and pieces of equipment, the introducing of scientific methods in production and so forth are giving a great stimulus to the development of production, the increase of labor productivity and the improvement of quality in all branches of our socialist economy. New elements and talents not only from the milieu of the working class and working masses, but also from the groups and collectives are enlisted in this activity; more and more every day; their work is honored and rewarded morally and materially.

It is fully understandable that innovators and rationalizers spend additional mental and physical energies in the creation of works, in achieving new innovations and rationalizations; moreover, these creations are realized mainly after they have fulfilled their tasks in production. Therefore, perhaps, we must see that the compensation for this additional creative work be regularly implemented just as it is in the other creativity fields of arts, culture and science by better combining the forms of moral encouragement with those of material encouragement. Here, there is another problem. It is known that, presently, material incentives for innovators and rationalizers are provided by a part of the enterprise special fund; this fund is created and used solely in established conditions. However, such dependence becomes an obstacle for the encouragement of innovations and rationalizations when the enterprise has not fulfilled its tasks in all its indicators. Therefore, perhaps, it would be appropriate that this part of the special fund be destined to encouraging innovators and rationalizers and be kept aside as a fund having its own purpose and be used in accordance with its nature, role and function in order to take care of the rewards for the authors of innovations and rationalizations.

The problems stressed in this article in regard to the perfection of the use of moral and material incentives, as levers influencing the increase of production, the improvement of productivity, reduction of costs and increase of socialist accumulation and the closer links of cadres and workers with economic and financial problems, are problems with a great ideological, political and ideological aspect, of course, without underevaluating the economic aspect, so as to better link the use of these incentives with the results of work and production.

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CSO: 2100/1

HUSAK ADDRESSES WORLD CONGRESS OF WOMEN

AU131313 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Oct 81 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Chechoslovak President Gustav Husak at the 8 October Opening Session of the World Congress of Women in the Prague Palace of Culture--recorded]

[Text] Madam Chairman, delegates, dear friends, comrades, allow me, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee of the National Front of the CSSR, on behalf of our government and on my own behalf, we greet you most cordially and welcome you in the capital of socialist Czechoslovakia.

We are very happy that Prague has become the venue of such a significant event in the international progressive women's movement--the world's women's congress. You are going to discuss important issues, the position and life of women, their needs, prospects and objectives. The motto of the world congress of women--equality, national independence, peace--reflects the sincere aspirations of millions of women who make up more than half of all mankind. Endeavors for their implementation link people of various world outlooks, political affiliation, or religious beliefs, of different color of skin, and members of different social strata.

The struggle for a just position of woman in society is an inseparable part of the struggle for the liberation of man from exploitation, for freedom and independence of the peoples, for social progress. Today ot has become the affair of the widest sections of world public. Together with you we rejoice at all the successes and victories won on the road toward equality of women.

This year we entered the second half of the United Nations decade on women, which the United Nations proclaimed at its 30th United Nations General Assembly session. Czechoslovakia has warmly welcomed this initiative. This years which passed since the inauguration of this most necessary world-wide campaign show, however, that for the moment we cannot register a substantial improvement in the position of women on a world-wide scale. The position of women in many countries remains extremely difficult and in some of them it is even getting worse. The chairman of the session gave some concrete examples a little while ago. This is the result of the class nature of the capitalist system, based on the exploitation of human labor, the result of its constantly intensifying crisis which is accompanied by unemployment, inflation, rising living costs affecting above all the socially weaker families, women, children and young people.

We know that millions of women still live in poverty and lack of equality which are a concomitant factor of centuries of colonial subjugation and backwardness. But we also know that progress cannot be halted, that it is impossible to break the determination of women and of all who are fighting together for peace, social progress and equality. [Applause]

The fundamental problems obstructing true equality of women and the harmonious enhancement of their personality were solved only by the socialist system. Proof of this is the life of women in socialist Czechoslovakia. We consider the full application of their right to work as one of the key achievements. Equal participation in the labor process opens a road to them towards their full application in all other spheres of social life as well. In our country socialism crushed an ancient prejudice according to which only so-called women's jobs linked with a lower qualification and remuneration were open to women. One of the fundamental prerequisites of the equal position of women is their access to education, which has become a matter of course in our society.

The fact that more and more women take part in running localities and towns, districts, regions and the entire state has become a part of the life of our socialist society; women are holding responsible posts in the national economy. Our social program is creating good conditions to enable women too perform their loftiest and irreplaceable mission, that of mothers. In our society mothers and children are surrounded by immense attention and care. Their material security, cost-free medical care, an extensive education system as well as the network of preschool and extra-school facilities create conditions to enable the young generation to enter life well prepared so that it shoud grow into healthy, educated citizens of our socialist fatherland with firm ethical and character standards.

The equal position of women in our society is one of the universally acknowledged achievements of socialism. Women are a significant force in the dynamic development of our society. Their exemplary work morale, initiative and devotion with which they approach demanding social tasks are well known and the Czechoslovak union of women plays an important role in all this.

During your stay in Czechoslovakia you will have the opportunity to see for yourselves how our women live in our country today, what matters to them, their everyday joys and worries, the attention which the socialist state is devoting to their families.

Dear delegates, the endeavor to improve the position of women throughout the world, the achievement of their equality is today inseparably linked with the struggle of all progressive and peace-loving forces to make sure that the peoples on our planet live in lasting peace. Today there is no more important and pressing task than reducing and averting the threat of war, an end to the feverish arms race and disarmament. But imperialism is making increasingly overt efforts to thwart the policy of detente, to unleash a new round of the arms race, exert blackmail and intimidate the whole world by armed provocations and brutal threats. Such a policy worries all who give responsible thought to our future, the tomorrows of present and coming generations. All sensible people oppose it with growing determination and resolution.

Socialist Czechoslovakia is firmly in the ranks of those who are fighting to avert the threat of war, for the reinforcement of peace and the security of the peoples,

for disarmament. Without peace and in a complicated international situation we would find it hard to advance successfully in implementing the program of socialist development. Our longing for peace stems from our own historic experience. We live in the heart of Europe, in a region spared by virtually no war on this continent.

This is one of the reasons why a sincere voice has always resounded from our country longing for a world free of wars. It is thanks to the peace policy of the states of the socialist community and the joint struggle of all progressive, democratic and peaceful forces that it has been possible to avert another world war even though the peoples in a large number of countries, in various parts of the world have not been spared the horrors of war and suffering in their struggle for freedom and against imperialist aggression.

We do not want future generations to know such horrors, in this the interests and needs of our people are in full accordance with the interests and aspirations of the peoples the world over. [Applause]

Our country, our people fully support the peace proposals of the Soviet Union which provide a realistic way out of the present complicated international situation; they reflect the common interests of all peoples for the preservation of peace. Together with progressive mankind throughout the world we firmly oppose the dangerous militarist plans for the further feverish arms race, jeopardizing the existing strategic balance in the world. We add our repudiating voice to those who are demanding an end to the manufacture of new nuclear means including the neutron bomb and their deployment on the European continent.

An end to the feverish war preparations serve the interest of all peoples, as well as the elimination of international tension and reinforcing confidence between states. There is only one sensible way to achieve this objective--the road of negotiations, a dialogue, respecting the justified interests of the states concerned, the road of a peaceful solution of all disputes. Proof of this is the fourth decade of peace on the European continent as well as the outcome of endeavors initiated by the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation.

We were pleased to hear that agreement was reached on the inauguration of negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of nuclear weapons in Europe. We are convinced that progress achieved in this major question would be a significant contribution on the road to peace and to avert the threat of war on our continent. We consider the peace movement as a most important factor in current developments; this movement--face to face with the escalating adventurist aggressive course of imperialist policy--has lately registered a powerful growth in many countries in Europe but also in other parts of the world. Many convincing examples to testify that women who frequently take their place in the front ranks, who come forward with new and inspriing initiatives, play a major role in this movement. We know that the peace movement in the capitalist countries has lately been the target of strong pressure and intimidation. I would like to take this opportunity in the name of the people of Czechoslovakia, to express our sympathy to all who consider peace as the most cherished possession of all mankind, as the fundamental condition of its existence and who are fighting for it actively. [Applause]

Our people with feelings of sincere solidarity are firmly at the side of the just struggle of the peoples for freedom, independence and social progress. They fully support efforts for the liquidation of all forms of national and racist oppression, for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism and backwardness in the developing countries, for the reorganization of international economic relations on a just and democratic foundation. We are convinced that the struggle for the inviolable right of the peoples to independent developments which has fundamentally changed the appearance of the world in the past decades is a process which cannot be halted. We highly appreciate the fact that in this historical struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence, women are playing a major role. For many of them this participation represents their first step toward overcoming centuries-old positions of inequality. Women are taking an active part in solving questions related to the political, economic and social development of young states, in endeavors to eliminate illiteracy and raising the educational and cultural standards of the people.

We deeply respect that many of you who have gathered at this meeting are making a significant contribution to the struggle for national independence and social liberation. We are happy that Czechoslovakia as the host country of the congress can, in this way, express its solidarity with the national liberation movement. [Applause]

Esteemed delegates, allow me in conclusion to wish you the most pleasant stay in our country. We see the decision to hold the world congress of women in Prague as a manifestation of recognition and great trust in the Czechoslovak women's movement, its organization and our entire country. Once again we would like to express our firm solidarity and support to the progressive women's movement in the struggle for its noble aims. You can rest assured that the CSSR, our entire people are firmly by the side of your sturggle for equality, national independence and peace. [Applause]

I wish this world congress of women every success in its significant deliberations. I wish all of you wholeheartedly every success in your responsible work, I wish you personally and your families good health and happiness.

CSO: 2400/48

NEW VHJ ROLE DIFFICULT TO IMPLEMENT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Oct 81 p 1

[Editorial: "An Important Part of Management"]

[Text] The adoption of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of National Economy After 1980 represents, among other things, an important shift of responsibility--the enterprise ceased to be the fundamental part of the management--that role was assigned to the VHJ [economic production unit]. It would be fallacious to assume that this is no more than a formal change. As a matter of fact, it was made after mature and comprehensive deliberations on the basis of long experience; it corresponds with another innovation introduced by the Set of Measures which designates as the central plan the medium-range--or five-year--plan. Both changes denote an effort to introduce more advanced concepts in the national economic process, to use scientific and technological development as its pivotal axis, and to stop managing production on a day-to-day basis (as it used to be the case frequently in the past) but to offer it a space for its future development.

Jobs in the general directorate used to be regarded as lucrative executive positions involving no particular risks. Executives in many places would be only happy if that situation would continue and if they could go on acting as a kind of a trade post--dispatching orders from higher levels to the enterprises and forwarding the flood of reports from below to the ministry. However, those times are gone forever and now it is beginning to show whether the team of managers in general directorates is able to take actions other than adopting noncommittal attitudes and passing them on to other levels instead of coping with the problems. It is becoming evident who deserves a position on the basis of ability and experience, who is useful and needed in the basic part of the management, and who has only vegetated there contendedly until now.

New demands on management make it imperative for the managers of VHJ to articulate new concepts for the development of their enterprises according to social needs, to specify and differentiate their planned tasks on the basis of thorough knowledge of the opportunities open to their enterprises, and to control the fulfillment of their tasks. Naturally, the implementation of the enterprise plans may involve certain deviations from original intentions; the basic part of the management bears the responsibility that those problems be resolved in a way corresponding to the needs of our society. Although the summary assessment of the operations of the VHJ and its enterprises is now based on the five-year period, no enterprise

or VHJ should approach the implementation of its annual plan of operations under ghe blissful illusion that this year's shortfall may be made up next year or later.

The dynamism of our economic development before 1985 is planned so that the least demanding tasks are assigned for the current year (and a still lesser part of them was assigned for the first half of the year) so as to offer the enterprises the space and the time to get adjusted to the new regulations of management. Their tasks will be stepped up next year and thereafter. Thus, it is a poor testimony for many enterprises--and of course, for their superior VHJ--if already in the first year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan they are complaining about their excessively demanding tasks. This also points to the fact that thus far the role of the central part of management had been viewed much too casually, that the managers failed to overcome the old style of work, and that they are still not completely aware of their own responsibility toward their subordinate work teams as well as toward our entire society.

The fulfillment of this year's plan thus far has been uneven and there is a discrepancy between the resources and the needs, which underlines the fact that the decisionmaking process, which is the actual work of the management in the central sector, has not been adequately mastered. After all, individual managers there should be experienced enough to realize that along with a declining dynamism of the planned tasks the demands on the structure of the line of products increase and thus, at a lower production we must not only follow individual trends in the market much more attentively but also achieve steady output in production as concerns the line of goods; work forces and resources are wasted if the production of certain goods rises above actual needs; then the production of other lines of goods much in demand is reduced and encounters greater problems. It is small wonder that then the problems in supplier-consumer relations are aggravated rather than remedied.

The introduction of new regulations in management and planning is accompanied with many more changes than some economic managers would realize. When faced with problems, managers were used to the fact that until the last day of September they could request mitigation of the plan. That opportunity is still open, however, such requests are now measured according to stricter yardsticks, and only fluctuations in the plan caused by unforeseen circumstances may be considered; emphatically, there will be no absolution of this kind for subjective causes, especially for lapses in management and planning or in the organization of production and its poor fulfillment by managers of enterprises and VHJ. Some managers also demanded that the plan be modified due to subjective reasons or that its regulators be adjusted (for instance, the productivity indicator be reduced in relation to wages); this must be regarded as their gross deficiency incompatible with the challenges of the 16th CPCZ Congress and of the Main Directions for Economic and Social Development.

It is not easy to fulfill such a responsible role as the one assigned to VHJ; nevertheless, it is absolutely imperative to demand that general directorates meet such a standard of work. Their operations cannot be reduced to transferring accomplishments of one enterprise to another so as to make in the end the whole VHJ look good; on the contrary, it is necessary to focus on eliminating the weak spots so that every enterprise can earn due credit for the fulfillment of its

tasks. Naturally, this calls for well-planned programs and their painstaking fulfillment; interventions in operations must be applied to the least possible extent. Furthermore, this calls for more extensive, goal-oriented applications of scientific and technological advances in actual production, for more flexible and prompt introduction of new products or types of production, for planning and organization of the most efficient use of fixed production assets, for their goal-oriented modernization and for higher labor productivity.

With the rising importance and role of the VHJ, something more is expected from them, namely, that their managers not pontificate about what is to be done and how (especially by others), but that they submit for evaluation primarily specific results of their work, that they not only promise to fulfill individual tasks but above all, that they report their actual fulfillment, and that they become better acquainted with the overall situation of our economy and do not present plans which promise very minor output for considerable inputs. This is another of the unfortunate legacies of the past with which we must finish once and for all.

The program of operations in the central sectors of management requires profound thinking, for a diligent search for ways to resolve problems, for the fulfillment of the assigned tasks and for imaginative suggestions concerning improvement of efficiency and quality. However, managers who are clamoring that their problems be resolved elsewhere are not the right persons for their job. We must realize that our current difficulties are due partly to circumstances beyond our control and partly also to the fact that thus far our approaches to the solution of our problems have been inadequate. If the external economic conditions cannot be changed, then it is so much more necessary to focus on the solution of problems within our reach, rather than to wait for someone else to tackle their solution; we must try to deal with problems where they are most oppressive.

The Set of Measures provides good instructions concerning gradual improvement of management and planning as well as overall economic achievements. The Set of Measures alone cannot remedy the situation—that must be done by individuals determined to apply new methods of thought and action. Although many criteria of the above-mentioned Set of Measures are very difficult, we cannot mitigate them. To retreat in a single instance would mean to compromise the fundamental principles and to succumb to increasingly greater problems with no hope for a solution up to the standards of an advanced socialist society.

The VHJ must cherish their position as the central sector of management. It is an expression of the immense confidence in the abilities of the individuals working in that sector. It is up to them if they can fully prove their mettle. That is the challenging test of their responsibility before all of our society.

9004
CSO: 2400/24

CSSR TREATIES WITH ETHIOPIA, YEMEN

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 20, 21 Sep 81 pp 3-6

[Text of friendship treaty between CSSR and Ethiopia, signed 10 September 1981 in Addis Ababa, and of friendship treaty between CSSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, signed 14 September 1981 in Aden]

[Text] On 7-9 September 1981, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, Comrade Gustav Husak, made an official, friendly visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. He was invited by the leader of the Libyan revolution, Col Mu'ammar Qadhafi.

On 10 September 1981, a delegation of Czechoslovak party and state officials led by the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, Comrade Gustav Husak, began an official friendly visit in Socialist Ethiopia. The visit was undertaken at the invitation of the Provisional Military Governing Council of Socialist Ethiopia, the Ethiopian government, and the Committee for Founding the Ethiopian Workers Party.

On 12-14 September 1981, a delegation of Czechoslovak party and state officials made an official, friendly visit to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, the presidium of the Supreme People's Council, and the government of the PDRY.

The following documents were signed at the conclusion of discussions in the countries which were visited: a Joint Czechoslovak-Libyan Declaration; a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and Socialist Ethiopia; a Czechoslovak-Ethiopian Joint Communique; a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and a Czechoslovak-Yemeni Joint Communique. (We are publishing here the text of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and Socialist Ethiopia and the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.)

These visits have contributed to the further strengthening and deepening of relations between Czechoslovakia and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, Socialist Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and to the strengthening of friendship among their people.

Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and Socialist Ethiopia

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Socialist Ethiopia, proceeding from traditional relations of close friendship, cooperation, and anti-imperialist solidarity between both countries, being convinced that the further strengthening of friendship and fortifying of mutual, comprehensive cooperation is in the interest of the peoples of both countries, recognizing that the unity of all revolutionary forces and the cooperation of socialistic and developing countries are important factors in strengthening the independence of countries which have freed themselves from foreign domination and exploitation, having resolved, moreover, to further contribute to the cause of international peace and security, the battle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and apartheid in all their forms and manifestations, against domination and oppression, and to contribute to the unity of forces struggling for social progress in the world, confirming anew their commitment to the principles and objectives of the UN Charter, proceeding from the Declaration Concerning Relations of Friendship and Cooperation Between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Socialist Ethiopia of 2 December 1978, attributing great significance to the further development and strengthening of their mutual relations, have decided to conclude this treaty, and have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The high parties to this treaty will, in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism, further deepen their ties of mutual friendship and solidarity. They will develop comprehensive cooperation based upon respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence, equality and noninterference in internal affairs.

Article 2

The high parties to this treaty will make every effort to expand and intensify mutually advantageous bilateral and multilateral economic, commercial, cultural, and scientific-technical cooperation on a long-range basis, with the objective of contributing to an increase in the welfare of the people of both countries.

Article 3

The high parties to this treaty will develop multifaceted cooperation and an exchange of experience in the areas of science, culture, education, health, literature, art, film, television, radio, publishing, physical education, sport, tourism, as well as in other fields, with the goal of a deeper understanding of the life, work and achievements of the people of both countries.

Article 4

The high parties to this treaty will also continue to strive for a thorough realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social structures, and for the expansion and deepening of the process of reducing tensions in international affairs, for the achievement of general and complete disarmament including nuclear arms and, with this objective in view, they will also pursue the resolution of all international disputes by peaceful means, while leaving inviolate the right of states, under the UN Charter, to individual and collective self-defense.

Article 5

The high parties to this treaty will also continue to support the struggle against the forces of imperialism and for the full liquidation of colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid in all their forms and manifestations.

They will at all times demonstrate active solidarity with, and support the movement of nonaligned countries in this struggle, and all people struggling for freedom, independence, sovereignty and social progress, for the right of peoples to make decisions concerning their natural resources and their utilization, and for the creation of a new international economic order based on equality and justice.

Article 6

The high parties to this treaty will also continue to contribute actively to the assurance, maintenance and strengthening of international peace and security, to the efforts to defend against the plans, conspiracies and attacks of the enemies of peace, the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction. They again confirm their belief in strict respect for the principles of inviolability of national boundaries and territorial integrity as the most important precondition for the maintenance of peace and security.

Article 7

The high parties to this treaty will consult each other concerning important international issues related to the interests of both countries and concerning questions of their mutual relations.

Article 8

The high parties to this treaty will resolve all issues which arise in the interpretation or implementation of this treaty through bilateral discussions and in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

Article 9

The high parties to this treaty declare that this treaty does not relate to commitments from international treaties by which they are bound.

Article 10

The Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, signed in Addis Ababa on 11 December 1959 ceases to be binding on the day that this treaty becomes valid.

Article 11

This treaty will undergo ratification and become valid on the day of the exchange of ratification papers, which is to take place as soon as possible.

Article 12

This treaty will be in force for a period of 20 years from the date of ratification, and will always be extended automatically for an additional 5 years, unless one of the high parties to the treaty notifies the other high party to the treaty at least 12 months in advance of the expiration of the current period of his intention to terminate the validity of the treaty.

Issued in Addis Ababa on 13 September 1981 in two original versions, each of them in the Czech, Amharic, and English languages, with all texts having equal validity.

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: Gustav Husak
For Socialist Ethiopia: Mengistu Haile Mariam

Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and the PDRY

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, valuing the importance of an expansion and deepening of ties of friendship and the multifaceted support of cooperation in accordance with the vital interests of the people of both countries, and in the interest of strengthening international peace and security, having resolved as well to contribute further to the strengthening of unity and cooperation of all the forces fighting for peace and national independence, for democracy and social progress, expressing their support for the struggle against imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism, neocolonialism, zionism and racism in all their forms and manifestations, confirming their commitment to the objectives and principles of the UN Charter, and especially the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in internal affairs, according great importance to the cooperation of both countries toward the achievement of a permanent and just peace in the Middle East, emphasizing the significance of the strengthening and development of fruitful cooperation among both countries, have decided to conclude this treaty and have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The high parties to this treaty officially declare their intention to strengthen the firm friendship between both countries, to develop permanently mutual relations in the political area as well as multifaceted cooperation on the basis of equality, respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in internal affairs.

Article 2

The high parties to this treaty will further develop mutual cooperation with the objective of creating the condition for a strengthening and further deepening of the social and economic achievements in both countries and will respect the sovereignty of each of them over their natural resources.

Article 3

The high parties to this treaty will attempt to develop further bilaterally advantageous economic and scientific technical cooperation. They will develop this

cooperation in specific sectors of the national economy, while expanding mutual trade and consistently respecting the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

Article 4

The high parties to this treaty will likewise support actively the mutual development of relations and an exchange of experiences in the fields of science and culture, education, health care, publishing, radio, television, cinematography, sport and tourism, as well as in other areas.

Article 5

The high parties to this treaty will likewise support the expansion of contacts among state organs and social organizations, and direct ties between cultural and scientific institutions, with the objective of understanding the life, work, experiences, and achievements of the peoples of both countries.

Article 6

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic respects the policy of nonalignment pursued by the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, which is an important contribution to the strengthening of international cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen respects the peaceful foreign policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic which is directed toward the strengthening of friendship and cooperation with all countries and peoples.

Article 7

The high parties to this treaty, in their foreign policies, will expend all possible effort to preserve international peace and security, to strengthen and develop the process of reducing tensions, to promote a ban on strategic weapons, to cease the arms race, and to achieve a general and complete agreement on disarmament. They will strive for a thorough implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in relations between states with differing social structures, at the same time that they will contribute to the just struggle of peoples for freedom, independence, sovereignty and social progress. They will likewise support the efforts of young, independent states which have just freed themselves from colonial dependence toward the democratization of the existing system of international economic relations, and the struggle for the full respect for the sovereignty of these states over their natural resources.

Article 8

The high parties to this treaty will continue in the active struggle against the aggressive policy of world imperialism and hegemonism, and for a definitive elimination of colonialism, zionism, and racism in all of their forms and manifestations.

Article 9

The high parties to this treaty will assist in all possible ways to a comprehensive resolution of the crisis in the Near East, and in the achievement of a just and

permanent peace in this area. Both sides will mutually consult and coordinate their positions in the interest of finding a comprehensive solution and implementing it.

Article 10

The high parties to this treaty will consult each other concerning all important international issues related directly to the interests of both sides. In the event that a situation should arise which threatens or disturbs world peace, both sides will get into immediate contact in order to coordinate their positions in the interest of eliminating the threat to, or disruption of peace.

Article 11

The high parties to this treaty officially declare that they will not enter into military or other alliances, nor will they participate in any group of countries, or in any military actions or measures directed against the other high party to this treaty.

Article 12

The high parties to this treaty declare that this treaty does not relate to their international rights and commitments, and is not directed against any third country. Both sides simultaneously pledge that they will not in the future negotiate any international documents that would be in conflict with this treaty.

Article 13

All issues which may arise in connection with the interpretations or the implementation of any provision at all of this treaty will be resolved in a spirit of friendship, mutual respect, and understanding by means of direct discussions between the high parties to this treaty.

Article 14

This treaty will undergo ratification and become valid on the day of the exchange of the ratification papers, which will take place as soon as possible in Prague.

Article 15

This treaty is to be in force for a period of 20 years, and its validity will be always extended automatically for an additional 5 years, unless one of the parties to the treaty abbrogates the treaty within 12 months of the end of a period of validity.

Issued in Aden on 14 September 1981 in two original versions, each in the Czech and Arabic languages, with both versions having the same validity.

For the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: Gustav Husak
For the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen: Ali Nasir Muhammad

9276
CSO: 2400/33

PRAGUE WORLD WOMEN'S CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

[Editorial Report] AU151850 PRAGUE RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 14 October 1981 on pages 1 and 2 carries the texts of two documents published in connection with the world congress of women held in Prague on 8-13 October.

The 800-word "proclamation to the women of the world," signed "participants to the world congress of women in Prague," condemns the danger of nuclear war, the planned deployment of new medium-range missiles in Western Europe and the exorbitant military expenditure while millions of people are suffering and dying of starvation, and calls for halting the practice of stockpiling weapons and for resolving contentious issues through negotiations and not by military means.

The 2,400-word "Declaration of the World Congress of Women" opens by stating that the congress represents women from all walks of life and of various persuasions from 132 countries, 234 national and 96 international organizations. It mentions--among other things--the current aggravated international situation and the arms race, which "could lead to an international confrontation." The declaration criticizes "irresponsible doctrines" about a "humane" nuclear bomb and about "limited nuclear war" as being "possible," "admissible," "inevitable" and "winnable," and entire world regions being declared as "vitally important" in the interest of expansionist ambitions.

The declaration goes on to say that creating new hotbeds of tension is a direct threat to peace throughout the world, and that the arms race uses up huge human and material resources, thus harming all mankind. It continues with an appeal to parliaments and governments to reject new armament programs and to ban nuclear weapons, including the neutron bomb, reduce military budgets and dissolve military blocs and alliances, dismantle military bases and withdraw troops from foreign territories, and immediately begin talks aimed at a total and universal disarmament.

The final part of the declaration lists eight demands of the participants in the congress, said to be necessary to bring about "genuine" equal rights for women.

"Peace is the most important prerequisite for achieving our goals," the declaration ends.

No further processing planned.

CSO: 2400/48

EDUCATION OF FOREIGNERS IN CSSR EXPLAINED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 36, 9 Sep 81 p 9

[Article by Jaroslav Vomacka, reponding to a "letter to the editor" in the column "Our Answer"]

> [Text] From a letter written by J.K., a reader from Benesov: "There are foreign students attending our schools. I would be interested to know what opportunities Czechoslovakia offers to them and what the conditions are for admission to schools...."

Studies by citizens from foreign countries at advanced schools and secondary vocational schools in the CSSR have a tradition of many years of standing. More than 5,000 foreign students from socialist, developing, and some capitalist countries are studying at present in our schools and scientific research institutes in both republics.

Those who are admitted to studies in Czechoslovakia are students, candidates, and postgraduate research workers. They are admitted on the basis of obligations which ensue from international agreements of our republic with other states, i.e., cultural agreements and executory plans attached to these agreements, from accords concerning scientific-technical assistance and cooperation, and so on.

Applicants for admission to studies in the CSSR must meet the same criteria as Czechoslovak citizens in terms of their previous education. They must also be fit for study in the selected field from the health point of view and be under the given age limit. Applicants who are up to 18 years of age and have completed elementary education are admitted to studies in secondary specialized schools, applicants up to 30 years old, whose level of education is equivalent to "maturita" examinations in our secondary schools, are admitted to advanced schools. Those who want to take preparatory courses in order to get a scientific degree must have completed college education, the required practical experience in the field, and be able to conduct independent scientific work. The upper age limit for admission to scientific preparatory work is 35 years.

Czechoslovak social norms and laws apply to foreigners attending schools in the CSSR. Foreign recipients of scholarships have the same rights and obligations as our students, including the right to be exempt from school fees, to receive health care, to use study rooms and libraries, sport and cultural facilities. They are subject to the same regulations concerning studies. They receive room and board in student dormitories and cafeterias.

Studies by citizens from European socialist countries in Czechoslovakia and vice versa are a significant component of socialist integration in the education of highly skilled cadres and an important element of Czechoslovak foreign policy in education. These studies are mostly reciprocal and are oriented in terms of their subject field in such a way that they would cover the most important areas of mutual bilateral and multilateral cooperation within the framework of the CEMA countries, and would provide first of all for the education of specialists in those fields which are reaching the state of the art in individual countries.

Our republic admits citizens from capitalist states to partial studies at advanced schools, postgraduate studies and postgraduate research. Mutual exchange of students and postgraduate students is based on reciprocity and arranged with those states with which Czechoslovakia has signed cultural agreements and executory plans.

By training national cadres for developing countries, our republic is fulfilling its obligations to these countries in the form of international assistance. All CEMA countries in which the appropriate conditions exist and which have the corresponding experience are paying greater attention to this preparatory training. For the time being, admissions to studies in the CSSR are in the nature of unilateral assistance. This means that the foreign students who are studying in our country are only those who have been granted a Czechoslovak Government (or other) scholarship on the basis of a proposal made by the competent organs in their own country.

In view of the fact that the interest by some developing countries in preparatory studies of students at our advanced schools exceeds the opportunities provided by the scholarship fund, consideration is given also to the possibility that students may be admitted to study at their own expense. This means that the expenses incurred by our republic in paying for the costs of preparatory education of a student would be reimbursed by the government of the country concerned.

The professional structure of the scholarships which are being offered is determined by taking in consideration the actual needs of the developing countries clearly predominant being technical fields, and also the fields of medicine, agriculture, economics, social sciences, natural sciences, and arts.

Upon their arrival in Czechoslovakia, all students from developing countries are assigned to basic classes of an advanced school or secondary vocational school, where they complete preparatory language courses and special preparatory courses for the given field of study. When they complete this preparation successfully, they continue studying at advanced schools or secondary vocational schools to which they have been admitted.

Ideological-educational work with foreign students is an inseparable part of the specialized preparatory study. The educational program is designed so that when the students return to their homeland, they can become carriers of friendship and understanding among nations, followers of the policy of peaceful coexistence and active fighters against the reactionary policy of imperialism and neocolonialism.

The CSR and SSR ministries of education are entrusted with organization of the study. The selection of, and the care for, foreign students from developing countries are handled by a joint advisory organ of both ministries. All important problems of the students concerning their study and other problems are dealt with in cooperation with the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Federal Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, social organizations, advanced schools, and other organs.

Foreign graduates of Czechoslovak advanced schools of the university type who express interest and demonstrate that they have the corresponding prerequisites are given the opportunity to take the rigorous examination within the framework of the university scholarship. However, they must take this examination within 6 months from the time they passed the final state examination. When graduates in medical fields have completed the prescribed practice in their homeland, they are authorized, in cooperation with the national ministries of health, to proceed with preparatory studies in the CSSR for the first certification examination.

Most of the foreign students who have graduated from Czechoslavak advanced schools find very good jobs in their professional field when they return to their homeland. Some of them hold responsible functions in the management and administrative apparatus, engage successfully in medical practice, teach at schools, and so on.

The continuous interest of the developing countries in the education of their national cadres at our advanced schools and secondary vocational schools is also a proof that there is a demand in the world for our graduates.

The care of our organs for foreign students still has its reserves, too. In the future, it will be necessary first of all to improve the work with the graduates after their return from Czechoslovakia to their homeland. The advanced schools are considering the possibility of publishing a bulletin in which these graduates would be kept informed about opportunities for increasing further their qualifications at our advanced schools and scientific research institutes, about life in Czechoslovakia, achievements in the process of building a developed socialist society, and so on. It is expected that the mailing of scientific and professional literature will be expanded, particularly to those countries from which more students had come to complete their studies at our schools.

5668
CSO: 2400/14

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF CPCZ LAND REFORM EVALUATED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 20, 21 Sep 81 pp 29-31

[Article by Bruno Hribek: "The Struggle for a Fundamental Transformation of the Village"]

[Text] Thirty-five years ago, in the fall of 1946, the CPCZ initiated its campaign for the completion of land reform in our country. The struggle for the implementation of revolutionary changes in the village was started by raising the postulate of revising the land reform begun by the pre-Munich republic and proposing the adoption of six new laws concerning agriculture.

Following the liberation of our country by the Red Army the CPCZ was purposefully striving to use the coalition of workers and farmers, which proved so effective in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and fascism, as an effective tool to institute a people's democracy by transforming the national and domestic revolution into a socialist revolution.

In postwar Czechoslovakia favorable conditions existed for such transformation. Led by the communist party, the working class became the driving force of the revolutionary process and assumed positions of power in key organs to establish a people's democracy. The active support of the farmers gave the CPCZ the power and the means not only to postulate a just land reform but enabled it also to implement it.

In this respect, the communist party adhered faithfully to Lenin's teaching on solving the problem of transforming agriculture. The party was fully aware that the just distribution of land among farm laborers, small and medium-sized farmers was the prerequisite for continued strengthening and consolidation of the union between workers and farmers and a condition for the success of the socialist revolution. In addition, land was not only the basic means of production but also the farmers' basic means of subsistence.

The communist party's effort for the implementation of the land reform was an essential component of the overall revolutionary struggle of the working class with the bourgeoisie. In accordance with the progress of the revolution and its gradual transition from the national and democratic to the socialist phase, the communist party did not postulate general land reform at the very beginning of the revolutionary process. Domestic and external conditions favoring the revolutionary process made it possible to implement land reform gradually.

The party had strong positions of power in rural districts. Soon after liberation party organizations came into being in almost all larger villages. A considerable number of farmers joined the CPCZ. In March 1946, at the time of the Eighth CPCZ Congress, the party had far in excess of a million members. Of this number 12.8 percent were farmers, numbering about 130,000.

The communists were successful in including the postulate of land reform in the Kosice Government Program. In Chapter 9, the program called for the necessity of "...finally taking Czech and Slovak land out of the hands of foreign German and Hungarian nobility and of traitors of the nation and put it into the hands of Czechs and Slovaks working the land." In the Czech lands, the first stage of the land reform--the division and transfer of the expropriated land into the hands of farm laborers and small farmers--was completed essentially by the summer of 1946. In Slovakia, where conditions were different, the implementation of the land reform was more complicated.

Farmer commissions which were part of the national committees and were composed primarily of applicants for land allocation saw to the consistent implementation of land reform stipulations and played an exceedingly important role in the process. The CPCZ exercised a very strong influence over the activity of the farmer commissions. In this way the party gained a strong constituency favoring the implementation of revolutionary changes in the villages.

In this stage, 2,946,395 hectares of agricultural land were expropriated of which 1,651,016 hectares constituted arable land. Of this area 2,400,449 hectares were situated in the Czech lands and 545,946 hectares in Slovakia. Most of the arable land, 73.8 percent in the Czech lands and 66.7 percent in Slovakia, was allocated to farm laborers and small farmers. The first stage of the land reform markedly changed the social and economic structure of the village, especially in border regions.

The May 1946 victory of the communists in the elections to the UNS (Constitutional National Assembly) and the newly acquired positions of power of the working class enabled the communist party to press for the second land reform stage. Its scope, articulated at the Eighth CPCZ Congress, was outlined within the framework of the principal tasks of the new governmental reconstruction program and presented on 8 July by Prime Minister Klement Gottwald in the form of a proposal to the UNS.

The new government program set the principal tasks to be accomplished in agriculture in the form of a two-year plan. Agricultural production was to attain its prewar level by the end of 1948 and supply the major part of the increased food consumption from domestic sources. One of the principal stipulations of the government program called for the continued intensification of land reform. At issue were primarily the following tasks: 1) complete land expropriation primarily in the central regions of the country where many traitors and collaborators succeeded in escaping land redistribution with the help of the national socialists, the people's (clerical) party and the Slovak democratic party; 2) carry out a revision of the pre-Munich bourgeois land reform; 3) liquidate the truncated farms (large estates expropriated before Munich and reduced in size).

The communist party, its aktiv and small farmer commissions formulated these demands into detailed proposals. Then the Ministry of Agriculture articulated these proposals into six agricultural draft laws which were discussed by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and at the September session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The laws proposed called for: 1) revising the bourgeois land reform law; 2) specifying economically and technically appropriate sizes of plots of land; 3) passing a hunting law; 4) recording the allocation of expropriated land and other agricultural assets in land registers and ensuring payment for the allocated assets; 5) implementing an agricultural production plan; 6) preventing land fragmentation by excessive division of agricultural properties in legal proceedings disposing of estates.

At the end of 1946, the CPCZ kraj committees and their agricultural commissions discussed the draft laws and the campaign to be launched to popularize them. In October, the Ministry of Agriculture mailed out pertinent information in the form of booklets to all local units of the United Associations of Czech and Slovak Farmers with the request for comments.

The six agricultural draft laws represented the short-term CPCZ strategic and tactical farm-policy objectives. They were directed against large landowners and owners of so-called truncated farms. At the time these proposals were not yet directed against so-called kulaks. They were designed to benefit primarily farm laborers and owners of small and medium-sized farms.

By far the greatest impact on intensifying the revolutionary process in rural areas was made by the law proposing a revision of the land reform carried out during the bourgeois republic. The draft proposal called for the consistent implementation of the so-called expropriation law of April 1919. Interpretation of this law in the spirit of a people's democracy would leave the original owners (large landowners) a maximum of 150 hectares of arable or 250 hectares of agricultural land. The draft proposal permitted reducing the size of large landed estates down to 50 hectares, especially where there were many applicants for land. Truncated farms were to be essentially totally divided into smaller plots. The principal objective of this land reform stage was primarily to right the injustices of the bourgeois land reform and liquidating the ownership of large landed estates. At the same time, more small farmers, natural allies of the working class in the socialist republic, were to be drawn into the revolutionary process.

The publication of the six draft laws concerning agriculture was well received by farm laborers, small and medium-sized farmers. In the winter of 1946 to 1947 this subject was the most important domestic discussion topic. At that time, party organs and organizations started a broadly-based campaign aimed at clarifying the stipulations of the proposed legislation, strengthening cooperation of CPCZ organizations with farmer committees and local units of the United Associations of Czechs and Slovak Farmers. Joint meetings were organized, conferences of farmer commissions and agricultural party workers were called which sent resolutions to the Ministry of Agriculture affirming their concurrence with the proposed laws.

Up to the middle of 1946 about 750,000 farmers participated in the discussions. In February, this CPCZ clarification campaign culminated in about 50 okreses in agricultural conferences attended by leading party officials.

While the six proposed agricultural laws met with sympathy by ordinary farmers, the village bourgeoisie rejected them openly. The Czech and Slovak bourgeoisie, supported by rightwing social democrats, came out against further revolutionary changes. Part of this effort was, among other actions, an open attempt at resurrecting the agrarian party, misusing the Unified Associations of Czech and Slovak Farmers to oppose the proposed legislation, intimidating medium-sized farmers and other attempts. In the beginning of 1947, for example, the national socialists assumed the leadership role in the so-called sugar beet growers movement which demagogically demanded that the state, a people's democracy, raise the price of sugar beets. The clerical party attempted to organize a "farmer's strike" by calling on farmers to refuse mandatory deliveries to the state.

A special role in the reactionary circles' plans to prevent the passage of the six proposed agricultural draft laws was assigned to the Agricultural Committee of the UNS where the communists were in a minority (11 out of 30 deputies). This committee's main objective was to prevent the passage of the law revising the land reform by amendments, purportedly to improve them, and by other obstructionary tactics. On 11 December 1946, at a meeting of this committee, the anticommunist bloc of noncommunist parties adopted a provocative resolution which called the procedure of the Ministry of Agriculture unconstitutional. In addition, the anticommunist bloc of deputies of the UNS Agricultural Committee decided to call the minister of agriculture to task for organizing the discussions on the six proposed laws.

The reactionary circles' opposition to the proposed agricultural laws was the first manifestation of general opposition of the bourgeoisie to implementing the governmental program of the National Front. This fact was made clear at the January 1947 session of the CPCZ Central Committee. At that occasion the Central Committee agreed on details of the strategy and tactics to be pursued by the party and the working class in the struggle with the bourgeoisie and the necessity was stressed of winning over the majority of our people to support CPCZ policy. To that end the slogan "Let us win the majority of the nation for our cause" was coined. The CPCZ Central Committee stressed at the same time that strong unity of the working class with the farmers is a prerequisite for fulfilling the guideline.

The January session of the CPCZ Central Committee adopted a resolution to raise CPCZ agricultural demands by broadening the scope of the six proposed agricultural laws. This approach was chosen as the most effective means for a renewed mobilization of farmers to defeat the reactionary circles. The January CPCZ Central Committee resolution outlining its agricultural program were broadened in scope. In drafting it, many proposals and suggestions were used made in discussions with farmers about the six proposed agricultural laws, initiatives brought out at public meetings of village party organizations and at conferences of party workers concerned with agriculture. At the same time, village organizations and CPCZ okres committees embarked on a broad-based campaign to induce farmers to join the CPCZ. The party and the working class also intensified their political activity and assistance by work brigades in villages especially in the endeavor to fulfill the two-year plan and promote the principles of the party's agricultural policy.

The public was informed about the CPCZ agricultural program on 4 April 1947 at the meeting of the okres committee of the Unified Association of Czech Farmers at Hradec Kralove. This important document then became known as the historical Hradec Program. It articulated comprehensively and in detail demands aimed at intensifying revolutionary changes to be carried out in villages, especially by completing the land reform which would contribute to the strengthening and consolidation of unity between workers and farmers. Most of the 17 demands were new and far exceeded the scope of the original six agricultural draft laws.

The key postulate of the Hradec Program was "solving the land ownership question once and for all," a solution which was clearly antagonistic to capitalist ideology. It called for the abolition of all land ownership exceeding 50 hectares and where land speculation was involved the limit was even lower. This proposal was very attractive to medium-sized farmers and sharpened thereby political differentiation in villages along class lines. The main thrust of the Hradec Program was: land belongs to those who work it.

Publicizing the Hradec Program was important in that it succeeded in radicalizing and mobilizing farmer committees. In this way, the farmer movement gained new momentum in its continued struggle with the agrarian bourgeoisie. Working farmers viewed the new CPCZ agricultural program very favorably and called for its accelerated implementation. This strengthened the party's influence in villages even more and broad masses of farmers were drawn into the struggle for the social and economic transformation of the village.

In the course of this truly monumental struggle, the communist party, supported actively by workers and farmers, succeeded gradually in pushing through the agricultural laws. On 1 April 1947 the UNS approved the first of the proposed laws dealing with assistance to farmers in implementing the agricultural production plan. On May 8, the law was passed on accelerated recording of the expropriated land in land registers. On 3 June, the parliament approved the law on dividing estates comprising agricultural enterprises and preventing the fragmentation of agricultural land.

The proposal to revise the land reform law from the time of the bourgeois republic met the fiercest opposition of reactionary circles. Even though the Ministry of Agriculture submitted the draft law for consideration by the interministerial committee as early as 24 September 1946 it was not placed on the agenda for action by the government until 20 June 1947. During these prolonged negotiations the original draft law was considerably weakened by the anticommunist bloc. In the meantime, on 5, 6 and 7 June 1947, reactionary agrarian circles held meetings at Nechanice in Hradec Okres, an open provocative affront to the CPCZ agricultural policy and the people's democracy.

On 1 July 1947, when the draft law on revising land reform was finally discussed by the Agricultural Committee of the UNS, deputies of the anticommunist bloc submitted no fewer than 42 amendments. But at the same time numerous delegations of farmers visited their parliamentary representatives each day urging accelerated approval of the draft law. In this way, on 11 July 1947, the law on revising the first land reform was passed. In difference to its original wording, the law was weakened by many amendments proposed by reactionary circles, specifically by the provision leaving owners of truncated farms 50 hectares of land. The law did not become operative and go into effect instantly. Then, in December 1947, the hunting law was passed. Reactionary circles continued to oppose passage of the law on land consolidation.

The final defeat of reactionary circles in February 1948 opened the road to the quick adoption of all agricultural laws called for in the Hradec Program and by the nationwide congress of farmer committees which met in late February. On 21 March 1948 the UNS approved the new land reform law, amended it and passed other laws which reactionary circles were able to block until February 1948. The amendment of the law on land reform actually restored its original wording submitted by the Ministry of Agriculture.

The passage of the revised land reform law created conditions for the consistent implementation of the second stage of the land reform whereby 943,271 hectares of land belonging to large landowners and the church were divided. Implementation of the new land reform law expropriating land holdings in excess of 50 hectares and allocating additional 253.483 hectares to farmers represented the third land reform stage and completed the land reform by the people's democracy.

Implementation of the land reform and the other demands raised by the farming community represented a great political success for the CPCZ. It convinced broad masses of the farming population that the policy pursued by the communists favored the true interests of the people. This fact brought about further consolidation of unity between workers and farmers which contributed decisively to unity between workers and farmers which contributed decisively to the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie in the political class struggle waged from 1945 until 1948. In the years when the foundations of socialism were being laid in our country, this tried and proven union became the guarantee of the socialist transformation of our villages and a pillar of the socialist system. As a result of these revolutionary changes, a new class of cooperative farmers came into being.

Over the 60 years of its existence the CPCZ has gained valuable experience in unifying working people with workers, farmers and other working people fighting jointly the bourgeoisie and building a socialist society.

Even today, when an advanced socialist society is being established in Czechoslovakia, the communist party draws on its wealth of experience gained in the struggle for the establishment and consolidation of unity between workers and farmers. Under the leadership of the CPCZ, our agriculture became the moving force behind the development of our entire national economy. The omnilateral development of socialist society is drawing workers, cooperative farmers and intelligentsia ever closer together. The building of advanced socialism continues to bridge the differences between urban and rural life and intensifies the moral and political unity of our people.

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JAKES OUTLINES CPCZ AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 9, Sep 81 pp 10-19

[Article by Milos Jakes, presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee: "The Effort To Achieve Self-Sufficiency in Foodstuffs--A Common Task for Agriculturists and Employees of the Food Industry and Supply Sectors"]

[Text] A significant political event took place this year in our country--the 16th CPCZ Congress, which drew up and approved a program for the further building of a developed socialist society and for general elections to the representative assemblies. The Czechoslovak people have expressed their full support for the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress in the elections to the legislative organs and national committees. This is confirmed, among other things, not only by the unanimous election of candidates of the National Front as delegates, but also by the breadth of labor initiative. The people have understood that the principal content of the resolutions of the 16th CPCZ Congress is directed at concern for a happy, satisfied life, for their free development, for the further blossoming of our socialist homeland and the assurance of a peaceful existence. All of this, as it was once again emphasized, is necessarily connected with a strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and with other countries of the socialist community.

Agriculture occupies an important position in fulfillment of the goals of the party program. This is the case not only because of its indispensable role in feeding the people, in providing deliveries of important raw materials for industry, and in helping to assure an increased standard of living, but also because it contributes to a large extent to overall political and economic stability and to social development. Agriculture is also an important factor in the creation and preservation of the daily, and especially the natural, environment. It is, therefore, no accident that the party considers agricultural development to be a task for the entire society.

If we evaluate the preceding three decades of our socialist construction, we see that in perhaps no other branch of the national economy have there been such profound revolutionary changes as in agriculture. The character of production, work and the overall way of village life has changed completely--so that there are now no significant differences between the city and the village. All of this clearly documents the advantages of a socialist order and the successes of the agricultural policy of our communist party. Under its leadership, and thanks to the immense dedication of hundreds of thousands of farmers, and with the assistance of the working class and the whole society, a fragmented, small-scale, private, unproductive agricultural system has been restructured as modern, socialist, large-scale agriculture.

Basically, a completely new asset and equipment base has been built up in agriculture. The results of scientific and technical progress, progressive types of production organization, and work of an industrial character, are all being applied to a greater extent in agriculture.

Thousands of capable managerial employees and experts, and hundreds of thousands of highly qualified employees have been trained. As a result, the volume of agricultural output has doubled over the past 30 years, the productivity of labor has increased more than 5 times, while the number of employees in agriculture has been reduced by 1.2 million, most of whom have shifted to work in industry. While in 1948 a single agricultural worker produced food for 5.5 people, even at the low level of consumption at that time, now a single worker provides food for more than 16 inhabitants, and at a high level of consumption, in terms of which we belong among the leading countries in the world.

The results which have been achieved are also evident from the fact that at present our republic belongs among the world leaders in average per hectare grain yields, particularly of barley and wheat. What our predecessors could only dream about has become a reality at the end of the seventies. As a specific example, the average per hectare yield of all grains in the CSSR has exceeded 4 tons per hectare. In 1980, 12 agricultural enterprises achieved an average per hectare yield in excess of 7 tons, and 155 enterprises had yields in excess of 6 tons. In the Dunajska Streda District, in which 43,000 hectares are sown in grain, an average of 6.07 tons was produced on every hectare. We are in third place worldwide in per capita sugar beet production, despite long-term stagnation in yields, and we are in fourth place worldwide in per capita production of barley. In per capital meat production, Czechoslovakia is ahead of such countries as the FRG, Austria, Great Britain, and other, even though part of this production depends on imports of concentrated feeds. The level of agricultural production in our republic places it among the most advanced agricultural countries, and the dynamic growth of its production places it ahead of many of them.

The performance of an agriculture based on mechanization, chemicalization, and the most modern scientific and technical findings, in conjunction with the development of the entire economy, has made possible not only a sharp increase in the per capita consumption of basic foods, but also the gradual introduction of a structure of food consumption which correspnds to the principles of rational nutrition. This has become evident in an increase in protein consumption, especially of animal proteins. In 1980, the consumption of meat products amounted to 85 kilograms of meat, 230 kilograms of milk, and 311 eggs per capita. However, from the viewpoint of increasing the overall quality of nutrition, the long-term stagnation in vegetable consumption represents an unfavorable phenomenon, with vegetable consumption being roughtly 25 percent below the recommended norm for rational nutrition. Per capita fruit consumption has, to be sure, increased insignificantly, thanks primarily, however, to increased imports of southern fruit, even though the amounts are still less than the recommended norms. International comparisons show that the CSSR belongs among the countries with the highest consumption of meat, milk and milk products, butter, fats, and sugar. The issue of nutrition has long ago lost for us the urgency of a problem of existence. Since the middle of the fifties, the development of food consumption has been characterized by structural changes and is approaching nutritionally reasonable levels. This shift in the structure of consumption is being realized in the direction of the production of sophisticated foods of

livestock origin (meat, milk and milk products, eggs), fruit and vegetables. Per capita sugar consumption has stablized. Grain consumption (in the form of flour) is declining in accordance with the rationalization of nutrition. The same is true of potato consumption. The greatest success is expressed by the fact that we have succeeded, even while providing a high level of nutrition, in basically eliminating the previous significant differentiation in food consumption for differing social strata of our population. In spite of low prices, foodstuffs amounted to 46.1 percent of overall retail trade turnover in 1980.

It is impossible, however, not to perceive that the assurance of this high level of consumption had an influence not only on the structure of agricultural production, but also influenced, especially in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the extent and composition of imports, particularly of feed, which required the expenditure of significant foreign currency resources for its purchase.

This, in conjunction with attempts to better utilize a basic production asset--agricultural land--is the reason that the 16th CPCZ Congress brought to the forefront with still greater emphasis the necessity for increasing the degree of self-sufficiency in those foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials for which we possess favorable climatic conditions. This served to confirm the validity, for an additional period ot time, of the policy approved by the 15th CPCZ Congress and elaborated by the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in March 1979. The need for the consistent implementation of this policy is also confirmed by the fact that foodstuffs and certain basic agricultural raw materials are being misused as a means for political pressure and blackmail. This danger is especially pressing especially because the critical holder of supplies of this politico-strategic good is the United States of America, which continues to be the world's largest exporter of foodstuffs.

The nearly monopolistic position of the United States as the largest exporter of foodstuffs (as opposed to other raw materials) created, during the seventies, a feeling of power among the ruling circles of the United States and its ideologists such as they had never before possesses, with the exception of a short period following World War II, when the United States was the sole, monopolistic, holder of atomic weapons.

This led during the seventies in the United States to the formation of a new political doctrine concerning "Food Power." Its basis has often been formulated as follows: "Nutrition has become a factor in political power. At a time of chronic food shortages, the United States must decide who obtains what and under what political conditions." This is one of the reasons that the food problem focuses on itself the attention of all countries of the world, without regard to their social structure, and why even advanced capitalist countries, to the extent that they are not self-sufficient, are attempting to increase, or achieve, self-sufficiency.

A no less significant factor influencing our policy on self-sufficiency is the constant increase in prices on world markets. During the past 10 years (1970 to 1980) the price of wheat has risen 3.31 times, that of corn 2.33 times, of soybeans 2.53 times, of fodder cakes 2.9 times, of fish meal 2.56 times, etc. For our conditions, it is also important that within the generally rising trend of prices the prices of imported raw materials are growing at a more rapid pace than prices for food products. This means, among other things, that it is essential to better and more

efficiently utilize imported raw materials, to attempt to increase domestic production, and to increase the volume and quality of exported agricultural and food products, but also to form corresponding reserves so as to take better advantage of conjunctural price fluctuations on capitalist markets, as established by the 13th session of the CPCZ Central Committee on 21-22 March 1979.

Long-range projections of price developments on world markets indicate that we must count in the future on a continuing upward price trend. For this reason, in "Report on Party Activity and the Development of Society Since the 15th CPCZ Congress and Additional Party Tasks," delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak, it was stated that "It will be more and more difficult and demanding of foreign currency reserves to import agricultural products and foodstuffs. Therefore we cannot assure a high level of food consumption by increasing imports, but above all through domestic production." (Report on the Activity and Development of Society and on Additional Party Tasks, Delivered by General Secretary Gustav Husak at the 16th CPCZ Congress. Prague; Svoboda, 1981 p 22). This effort toward achieving self-sufficiency in grains and increasing overall self-sufficiency in foodstuffs is not an orientation toward closing the economy to international trade in agricultural products and raw materials, but toward the maximum utilization of domestic natural conditions and resources, while developing simultaneously various forms of cooperation within the framework of the CEMA countries toward the common resolution of the food and raw materials problem. From these positions it is necessary to move not only to a theoretical resolution of this problem but also to the practical administrative activity of party, state and managerial organs.

To fulfill the task of achieving self-sufficiency, it will be necessary to increase overall agricultural output by 10 percent during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, including the more rapid development of plant production than of livestock (the majority of plant production--about 80 percent--goes to the raising of livestock either directly, or in the form of industrially produced feeds). The focus of the development of plant production is being placed, in addition to further increases in grain production, primarily on an increase in the production of bulk fodder and high protein feed, areas where we so far have the most unused capacity. In livestock production, efforts are being focused above all on the development of cattle breeding because, given the limited sources of concentrated fodder and protein supplements, we will have to provide for the increased meat consumption demanded by the increase in population during the Seventh Five-Year Plan, as opposed to previous five-year plans, above all by increasing the production of cattle for slaughter, in view of the stagnation in the production of pork. And while in the Sixth Five-Year Plan cattle for slaughter accounted for only one-fifth of the overall increase in livestock for slaughter, this percentage is to increase to about 60 percent during the Seventh Five-Year Plan. These changes in the structure of meat production, in conjunction with a simultaneous increase in the consumption of milk and milk products, will make possible a further increase in the quality of food-consumption patterns.

The main directions of the resolution of agricultural tasks consist above all of additional intensification of production through the application of scientific findings, mechanization and chemicalization, and a deepening of concentration and specialization, a more thorough utilization of domestic resources, a more responsible fulfillment of responsibilities by a number of supplying sectors and services,

and a reduction of losses in the overall process of agricultural and food production, including the frugal utilization of the produced foodstuffs. The food industry, therefore, has been allotted no small assignment in the implementation of the policy of increasing self-sufficiency. This assignment pertains to the improved utilization of raw materials by placing a high value on them, but also by increasing quality, shelf life and by expanding the product mix in accordance with consumer requirements. Among other things, this also presupposes a much more creative and intensive degree of cooperation with agricultural enterprises, and the development of cooperative and integrative relationships.

Biological and technical services, as well as the scientific research base will also take a much more active role than previously in assuring agricultural and foodstuff production, including the full application of scientifically managed raising of livestock and plants, the biochemicalization of agricultural production, and the operation of the entire managerial sphere. These are the basic preconditions for the implementation of the requirements of the 16th CPCZ Congress for an additional increase in self-sufficiency in food.

Considering that during the Seventh Five-Year Plan a unit of increase in agricultural and foodstuff production will be assured with relatively fewer productive resources (with a flower overall area of agricultural land, less labor, lower increases in industrial fertilizers, roughly the same overall amount of investment capital as in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, significantly lower grain imports, etc.), it is clear that the overall strategic emphasis of our economic policy on increasing the efficiency and quality of all work and the shifting of the economy to an intensive growth path applies unambiguously and with great urgency to the food and agriculture branch as well. It requires that the greatest possible number of high-quality products of the desired mix be produced from every koruna expended on investment and wages, from every kilogram of fertilizer, from every unit of energy that is consumed, and from every hectare of agricultural land. To achieve these objectives, as well as to support the overall fulfillment of tasks, the implementation of the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System is also directed at the conditions of agriculture and of the food and agricultural complex, and its more intensive application is planned as of 1 January 1982. In addition to effective measures applied thoroughly at agricultural enterprises, particularly related to management of the stock of agricultural land and an increase in its fertility and rational utilization, it is necessary to support with still greater efficiency the production of those private farming plots, of small breeders and growers, steps which will make it possible not only to increase the level of domestic supplies, but also to enrich and make more varied the markets for, above all, meat, vegetables, and fruit.

The critical measure of the intensification of production must be a constantly increasing volume of domestic agricultural production per unit of agricultural land, in the required mix and of the required quality, and with the lowest possible social labor costs per unit of production. One of the basic ways to achieve this is through additional increases of per hectare yields and in the utility values of livestock on the basis of the development and broad based, comprehensive application of scientific and technical findings and progressive experiences.

Simultaneously, it is necessary to create the required space for the full and effective application of scientific and technical progress through the development of the

social division of labor in all of its forms, and of mutually beneficial cooperative and integrative relationships.

Issues of cooperation and specialization have recently been one of the most pressing problems of the agriculture of the socialist countries. K. Marx and F. Engels already devoted their attention to this, when they wrote in the volumes about the prospects for small peasant farmer management. V.I. Lenin provided these thoughts with a fully practical form in the works known as Lenin's Cooperative Plan.

What was typical of cooperation and production concentration during the first stage of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture from 1959-1960?

It was the carrying out of revolutionary changes, above all in the area of production relations without great changes in the forces of production. It was cooperation which took place through the forming of cooperatives from former private farmers. After the realization of socialist restructuring and as a consequence of the development of the forces of production, especially the technology that was being employed, matters led to an increase in the size of agricultural cooperative enterprises through mergers.

In the second half of the sixties we encounter a qualitatively new phenomenon in the concentration of agricultural production. Enterprises came about which, as opposed to the existing universal enterprises with a many-faceted production structure, were characterized by a already high degree of concentration and specialization in production, often limited to a single marketable product, or a single activity. These were enterprises engaged in the production of eggs, poultry, etc. These enterprises represent a new phase in the development of concentration, in that it was achieved on the basis of narrow specialization and interenterprise cooperation which was related to a significant entrance of science into production. At this stage it was already not a matter of acting on and applying only practical experiences and separate findings of individual scientific disciplines, but a mutually interrelated complex of disciplines which fundamentally changed the existing technology, organization, and management of production. In reaction to these new realities, the 14th CPCZ Congress stated in its final resolution that "socialist agriculture is entering into a new stage in its development. Additional immense development of the forces of production, and especially the efficiency application of mass production techniques and technologies requires a significant, committed concentration and specialization of plant and livestock production. The fundamental precondition for this is, primarily, the formation and intensification of cooperative relationships...." (14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Prague; Svoboda, 1971 p 575).

The significance attached to these issues by the CPCZ Central Committee is evident from a resolution of 1 June 1976, "Concerning the Further Development of Specialization and Concentration of Agricultural Production on the Basis of Interenterprise Cooperation and Agricultural and Industrial Integration." It is stated in this resolution that the specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of broad cooperative and its conversion to a modern industrial basis are the main directions of the further development of socialist agriculture and a new stage in the practical realization of Lenin's cooperative plan under the conditions of developed socialism. At the same time, it emphasizes that the development of these processes must be considered as one of the most significant state and party tasks.

The overall course of concentration, specialization, and cooperation in the fifth and sixth five-year plans fully confirms the correctness of the basic line, as outlined in this area by the 16th CPCZ Congress. It has had a positive influence on the construction of a new, mass production base in agriculture, as well as on production and economic performance in other sectors.

For this reason the 16th CPCZ Congress also deliniated the task of continuing in the concentration and specialization of production within the existing agricultural enterprises, and of developing cooperative, within the framework of agriculture, between agriculture and the food industry and, in certain areas, also with commerce as an important path to the further growth and increased efficiency of agricultural output and the production of food.

However, in view of the much more difficult economic situation, a high level of managerial efficiency comes to the forefront much more forcefully than at the start of the development of this process, given the necessity for fully respecting the possibilities for an optimal resolution of the structure of production and of natural conditions. The pressing nature of this approach stems from an ever-worsening fuel and energy resources balance, especially in the case of motor fuels, the consumption of which will increase in disproportionate relationship to achieved effects during an additional increase in the concentration of production (for instance, a high degree of concentration in cattle raising increases production costs by several times, especially transportation costs).

The existing highly concentrated and specialized agricultural production also creates the conditions for a much closer link between it and the industry processing the agricultural raw materials. It enables the industry to participate directly in, and more efficiently influence, the required amounts and quality of the produced raw materials, as well as their delivery for processing.

The uneven progress of scientific research and of scientific and technical progress in individual branches of production, and the connection between the development rates of livestock and plant production create, however, differentiated conditions for qualitative changes in the concentration of production. It is no accident that the preconditions for concentration, based as they are on specialization, are formed much earlier for certain branches of livestock production, such as poultry or swine raising, where we are dealing with a relatively more simple reproduction process and method of production.

Even though development during the 10 years since the adoption of the basic document on the development of concentration and specialization has enriched our knowledge and experience, it is necessary to state that we are still at the beginning. Socialist production relationships are creating the necessary space for the development of a social division of labor which is, as V.I. Lenin emphasized, "basically endless, just as is technical evolution." (V.I. Lenin: "Works," vol 1, p 109). Therefore one of the major responsibilities of employees in science, research, and practice is to analyze systematically these processes and their problems, to approach suggestions sensitively and to implement in practice with greater consistency those which might positively influence further progress, in the technological, organizational or economic area. It is, however, necessary to keep in mind, that concentration and specialization are not ends in themselves but that they make

sense only if they lead to an increase in agricultural output and its efficiency. Therefore, the 16th CPCZ Congress also emphasized that it does not consider further mergers of agricultural enterprises as proper at the present time. The crucial path to follow remains the formation and improvement of specific interenterprise cooperative relationships which, especially in the area of agricultural technology, bring significant results. In addition to attention to increasing the operational reliability of mechanized assets and to the efficient utilization of heavy machinery, some success is also being achieved, through cooperative mergers, in improving the quality of the spare parts distribution and supply system for agricultural enterprises, with the cooperation of the organizations of STS [State Tractor Stations] and OZS [Agricultural Machinery Repair Shops]. Increasing concentration and intensifying specialization through interenterprise cooperation has not only production and economic advantages, but also socio—political ones. Scientific and technical progress implemented on this foundation also contributes to sharp changes in the lives of agricultural workers, to a convergence of agriculture and industry, of the city and country, not only in the realm of work conditions, but also the conditions of the rest of life as well.

The development of cooperation will create the possibility for speeding up the process of the industrialization of agricultural production and, thereby, the level of its socialization. By means of industrialization we are gradually replacing tiring, manual and unskilled work with skilled and machinery-oriented work, and removing the boundaries between physical and mental labor, between agricultural and industrial work.

The incorporation of all employees of cooperating enterprises into a uniformly managed production process is bringing forth qualitative changes in the material conditions of the labor process. A unification of labor conditions is coming about. The nature of work is changing. Work with machines and assembly lines objectively brings an organized manner and the necessity for maintaining technological discipline to the work process. This is one of the levels at which the cooperative farming class is merging with the working class.

Socialist industry and the working class are playing important roles in the transferral of agriculture to an industrial base. On the other hand, a dynamically and efficiently developing agriculture is an important factor in overall economic developing and the political stability of society. The unity of political interests of the working class and the cooperative farmer class is strengthened through this deepening connection. Moreover scientific and technical development is increasing the significance of qualified managerial staff, employees in science and in research, and of the educational system, and this is forming the basis for an ongoing strengthening of the alliance of both of the basic classes of our society with the socialist intelligentsia. The increasing extent of the socialization of labor is also leading to a gradual merging of the two existing forms of socialist ownership in agriculture. Both of these forms--state and cooperative—interact among themselves and adopt progressive elements of organization, management, compensation, etc. from each other, thereby speeding up the development of the forces of production. This process must be constantly monitored from the positions of socialist management principles in such a way as to fortify elements of popular ownership, accompanied by the consistent application of khozraschet and efficiency requirements.

The industrialization of agriculture, in conjunction with an intensifying division of labor, has reached the stage when the production of agricultural raw materials and foods is more and more dependent on the other branches of the national economy, particularly on the chemical industry, the agricultural equipment sector, the fuel and energy sector, etc. While deliveries from these other branches to agriculture represented only a fourth of agricultural production at the beginnings of its socialist restructuring, today they represent 70 percent of the total. This points to an expanding share of responsibility for a broad range of production sectors in the production of agricultural raw material and food.

Both analyses and practice have unambiguously demonstrated that the successful realization of the self-sufficiency program for foodstuff production is directly conditioned by the balance between, and quality of the intersectoral ties among, all the branches and sectors influencing agricultural production, by the technical sophistication and quality of the capital assets and services which are provided, and by their efficient utilization in the direct production of agricultural raw materials and foods.

This is the reason the 16th CPCZ Congress placed such great emphasis on the assignment and responsibility of the delivering branches for the fulfillment of the tasks of the food and agriculture industries.

The necessity for improving the planning and management system is just as pressing for agriculture as it is for the entire national economy. This must be based on measures aimed at introducing a high level of intensity into agricultural production, by way of supporting efforts toward the improved utilization of agricultural raw materials and toward reducing continuing high losses in production, but also in related processes. These measures must also play a significant role in overcoming differences in the performance of agricultural enterprises operating in comparable natural and economic conditions.

The focus of managerial and planning activity must be the assurance of the comprehensiveness and coordinated character of the plan. At the same time, there must be a simplification of this activity so that sufficient space may be given to agricultural enterprises for the development of initiatives directed at the overfulfillment of tasks related to the socially desirable product mix. This presupposes the active participation not only of every agricultural enterprise, but also of its labor collectives at the stage of plan formulation. The main content of management must be the introduction and the full practical utilization of the most recent scientific and technical findings, the experiences of the best employees, the preparation of professional and managerial staff and their effective placement. Management must also create pressure in the direction of increasing employee qualifications and, in accordance with this, in the direction of the proper implementation of material incentives according to the principle "to each according to the amount and quality of the work he has performed," both for individuals and for labor collectives and entire enterprises. With this in mind, measures are being prepared for the more efficient implementation of the principles of the khozraschet management technique in all agricultural enterprises.

Proposed alterations in the purchase prices of certain agricultural products will also help to assure that production is oriented in socially desirable directions. These alterations are directed particularly at the support of the further development of cattle breeding.

The implementation of these directives will require an active approach by managerial organs and party organizations, and will place great demands on the choice of staff and on work with people, who are the ones who pass the final judgment concerning the fulfillment of objectives. This is the basic condition for the achievement of the demanding objectives set for the food and agriculture industry by the 16th CPCZ Congress.

9276
CSO: 2400/19

BRIEFS

WORLD WOMEN'S CONGRESS AGENDA--In only a few tens of hours the most significant event of the progressive international women's movement will be opened. On Thursday morning the Prague palace of culture will open its doors to the delegates and guests of the world women's congress. It will be attended by more than 1,000 representatives of women's, trade union, youth and other organizations, representatives of international and regional organizations, and representatives of the United Nations and its specialized institutions. On 14 October it will be followed by a 2-day session of the 8th congress of the international democratic women's federation. During the working part of the world women's congress two plenary sessions and a 3-day session of the six congress commissions will be held. They will focus on questions concerning the struggle for peace and disarmament, the position of women in the work process, women's social equality and the problem of family in different parts of the world. The delegates will also assess the results of their efforts in the struggle for national independence and the development and prospects of cooperation between national, regional and international women's organizations and United Nations' organizations. [Hana Labudova report: "The Voice of Peace Will Resound From Prague; Prior to the Opening of the World Women's Congress"] [Excerpt] [AU071455 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 81 pp 1,2]

CSO: 2400/48

POLITICAL CRISIS, SOLIDARITY STRATEGY ASSESSED

Paris LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE in French Oct 81 pp 1, 3-4

[Article by special correspondent Ignacio Ramonet: "The Rise of an Opposition Power in Crisis-Troubled Poland"]

[Text] On the eve of the resumption of the Solidarity trade union federation's first congress, Stefan Olszowski, a member of the political bureau of the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR), suggested the formation of a "national front" uniting the party, the church and Solidarity. The prime minister, General Jaruzelski, has himself mentioned creating a "coalition platform" gathering together "all those who are not against socialism."

These stands show how lively the debates are over necessary and difficult compromises in the face of the economy's dramatic deterioration at the approach of winter. In fact, recovery is inconceivable without the cooperation of the country's vital forces.

In this regard, the Solidarity congress will have highlighted the determination of the workingclass rank-and-file to carry its demands into the political arena from now on. Faced with the government's shortcomings, the trade union federation itself, supported by the church, is being irretrievably led to set itself up as an opposing political power. From this point of view, plans are taking shape in Solidarity's midst while a flowering of factions behind its apparent unity shows the existence of very diverse currents of thought.

Solidarity, as the "Polish people's assembly," has a strategy which consists for the moment of dealing carefully with the PZPR and, regarding itself, of seeking to exercise a certain amount of control over governmental power without aspiring to hold it all.

Thus, the Polish United Workers Party leadership's obsessive fear is being borne out: The Solidarity trade union federation is establishing itself more and more as a political opposition organization. And the military maneuvers on the Baltic coast, on the eastern borders, in Silesia, and on the Oder have hardly succeeded

at all in intimidating the delegates to the independent trade union federation's 1st congress. Quite the contrary. Beyond demands aimed at improving its working and living conditions, the Polish working class is now clearly insisting on profound changes of a political, economic, social and moral nature. It is hoping for the advent of law, the resurrection of right, and the resurgence of justice. In short, it is calling for a revolution.

Thirteen months after the signing of the Gdansk agreements on 31 August 1980, the balance of power in Poland is radically altered. Solidarity has acquired an extraordinary amount of power through the number of its members, the extend to which it is established, and the popularity of its actions, whereas the PZPR has nearly broken down: A third of its activitists have joined the independent trade union federation and a profound demoralization has overcome the entire party apparatus which is more isolated than ever. Moreover, the church as gone beyond its traditional discretion and has conspicuously allied itself with Solidarity while continuing to preach moderation. In circumstances like these, the government's warning shots and the PZPR leadership's admonitions do not impress the trade unionists at all, for nobody is any longer unaware that nowadays the government, the PZPR and the national assembly itself have lost all representativeness in practice. Therefore, only a single organized force remains to defend the regime's principles: The army, ideologically controlled by the Political Leadership Center which is itself organically linked to the Soviet Union.

There is little doubt about the loyalty of the military hierarchy as a whole to the regime; on the other hand, the attitude of the soldiers in the event of confrontation with the workers remains uncertain. This is especially the case since fresh conscripts have been drafted who in many instances participated in the August 1980 strikes and the vast majority of whom are members of or sympathizers with a Solidarity trade union (a workers' union, farmers' union or student union). Solidarity has up to now refrained from setting up soldiers' committees in order not to exasperate an already desperate government. But it goes without saying that the independent trade union federation is in a position to form them in most units. Such a possibility makes the government uneasy, and the remarks of the prime minister, Mr Wojciech Jaruzelski, in his speech to the PZPR's 9th Congress on 9 July 1981 betrayed that anxiety to some extent: "In the current difficult period," he said, "our armed forces have not changed. They have maintained their unity and obedience. The party has confidence in the army. That confidence commits our soldiers. I am convinced that they will not fail to satisfy expectations."

The rapid and unexpected sinking of the regime has compelled Solidarity to take more and more initiatives of a distinctly political nature irrelevant to the trade union area in a strict sense. There is no doubt that this move into politics is being done prematurely in the opinion of trade union leaders. But at the same time it is valuable element of stability for Poland, for, since the authorities have lost all credibility, real anarchy in the life of society might have been feared.

Solidarity currently embodies a "social movement of conscious citizens" as much as it does a trade union organization. It is struggling to solve all of society's problems, especially in the area of democratic practices. By calling for genuinely free elections at all levels, an end to the "Nomenklatura" [official table of organization], social control over mass media, and freedom for prisoners of

conscience, Solidarity is expressing demands of a political nature and is setting itself up as a real opposition power. However, it is not a party, and the trade union federation as such could not take over the political leadership of the Polish revolution.

Solidarity, which is quite a collection of political currents and families, does not have a well-defined overall ideology. It is a democratic movement which tries hard to fight against a system's "lies" (fighting against lies is fundamental) and whose political positions remain quite simple: Defense of human rights, civil liberties, democracy, and national independence. From this standpoint, as the philosopher Leszek Kolakowski would say, it is a "liberal conservative socialist" movement, a sort of politically mixed moral conscience on a national scale.

Its members, united as Poles and trade unionists, do not all have the same opinions on questions of a socio-political nature. Important ideological cleavages exist within the trade union federation; several factions oppose each other and advance their own solutions (political or strategic) for winning out in conflict with the government. Nowadays the country's fate depends to some extent on the greater or lesser amount of influence one or another of those tendencies has on the overall line.

The Impatience of the Rank and File

At the end of a year of trade union conflicts an initial conclusion emerges: The most radical faction, the one most opposed to the government in a head-on fashion and least inclined toward concessions, is that of the working-class rank and file--factory, shipyard and mine workers. Whenever it expresses itself directly (as in the speeches of delegates Sobieszek and Rulewski at the Gdansk Congress), it fiercely demands the following on an immediate basis: Relinquishment of the leading role entrusted to the party, free elections, an end to ideological constraints on the economy, strict social control over the militia and secret police, and independence with regard to the Soviet Union. This radicalism of the working class was only exacerbated during the course of the year, to the point that it now rejects Marxist and communist vocabulary and, in contradictory fashion, wishes for an extreme egalitarianism which would give way to a market economy sector, all mixed with patriotic and religious considerations. All of the clashes since August 1980 (particularly the Jelenia Gora, Beilesko Biala, Lodz, Bydgoszcz, Huta Warswawa, Olsztyn and Rzeszow affairs) show that Solidarity's leaders have had, sometimes with great difficulty, to put a brake on their rank and file and trim demands to fit what was in the circumstances reasonable for the government.

While that is the general characteristic of the rank and file, regional and national leadership, on the other hand, appear much less homogeneous and splits are readily perceptible on two levels, political and strategic.

In spite of fluctuations and normal regroupings in this period of great feverish activism, one can make out two large dominant currents in regard to politics: Social democracy and nationalism.

Within the former, there are two tracks proposed among advocates of self-management.

Mrs Jadwiga Staniszkis'ss line (she is a Warsaw sociologist and former member of the Solidarity national leadership group of experts), sometimes labelled leftist, champions the concept of a form of self-management strongly organized at the grass-roots level and disregarding intermediate economic levels. This faction normally expounds its arguments in NTO (the science, technology and education clubs' information bulletin), a publication of the Warsaw trade union federation. These arguments find support from the philosopher Wlozimierz Wypych. One of the principle merits of this faction's driving force is that she has unquestionably made workers throughout the country aware of the self-management issue.

The other self-management track is Jerzy Milerski's (he is a professor at the Gdansk Polytechnic School and member of the regional leadership). He originated what is called the "network," which is the periodic gathering of representatives from trade union branches of the country's largest enterprises to consider this self-mangement issue. At the beginning of July before the PZPR congress this "network" made public a "bill regarding self-managed enterprise." According to that document the running of factories would be turned over to a council of workers elected by the body of wage-earning employees. This council would appoint the directors (who would therefore not be designated any more by the party in accordance with the "Nomenklatura" principle) and the workers would set themselves up as managers of an enterprise which would of course remain the property of the nation.

By putting an end to the "Nomenklatura," this plan would weaken the PZPR which the plan would cut off from its careerist supporters. This road to self-management, which has been approved on a mass basis in factories, has become the entire trade union federation's line. Solidarity has adopted it as a basis for consideration for the establishment of a self-management system in Poland. According to Jerzy Milewski, power would pass into the hands of the workers as a result of this type of self-management. All of society could organize itself in self-management cells (tenant associations, consumer groups, etc.) and in that way have a share in control over power. Jerzy Milewski opposes any self-limitation of this process whatsoever. Self-limitation is, as is well known, an idea of the Social Self-defense Committee (KOR). Milewski wants the process to be "free, resolute, and unhesitating." According to him it would be the best answer to the regime's inability to organize the economy.

Jerzy Milewski is one of the leaders who has contributed the most towards orienting Solidarity in the direction of politics, previously considered a shameful area. He has himself just launched a new group, the Polish Labor Party[1], which is meant to be lending support to the self-management plan and the whole body of trade unionist policy.

Within the social-democratic family, the socialist current (by and large predominant in Solidarity) is also split into two factions: Secular and Catholic.

Among the secular elements the most influential by far is KOR[2], or, more specifically, KOR's "secular left." Its historical leaders, Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, who have Marxist training and are former PZPR members, contributed directly towards creating the independent trade union federation. As experts close to the leadership, these two men defend a genuine socialist line with great political realism. It is in large part Jacek Kuron's tactical experience which has more than once made

it possible for the trade union federation to avoid being in a bad position vis-a-vis the government of finding itself outflanked by its rank and file. In spite of his usual moderation, Jacek Kuron has opposed Lech Walesa several times on questions of tactics (in particular at the time of the dramatic Bydgoszcz affair when KOR's entire "secular left" and its allies rose up against Walesa's radical moderation).

Certain influential personalities in the trade union federation are close to this current, in particular Karol Modzelewski (expelled from the PZPR at the same time as Jacek Kuron) whose political understanding and eloquence fascinate a agreat number of activists. In his opinion Solidarity is basically a working-class movement which must put its strategy for controlling power on a middle course between Leninist descipline and spontaneous improvisation. Andrezej Gwiazda's group (he is an engineer, member of the trade union federation's national leadership, and founder of the free trade unions of the Baltic in 1978), which is also allied with the "secular left," is more violently opposed to the arguments upheld by Lech Walesa's populist line. He defends the concept of Solidarity as a social movement which naturally has to go beyond the legal framework of the Gdansk agreements. In Adrzej Gwiazda's opinion, there is no economic crisis in Poland. That crisis is only a manifestation of the political crisis.

KOR's "secular left" (influential especially in Warsaw, in Great Poland and in Upper Silesia) is characterized by a sense of the conrete and by its capacity for resolving specific problems and organizing specific actions. Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik feel tht the way of reaching a goal is as important as the goal itself. They therefore preach the ethics of means (which the end, whatever it may be, cannot justify) and criticize the cynicism which often characterizes political practices. They favor self-organization and oppose centralizing structures on every occasion. In spite of their character, their influence, and their sectoral popularity, the leaders of this "secular left" cannot hope to run the Solidarity trade union federation either directly or indirectly. As intellectuals they remain suspect in the eyes of a large part of the rank and file which also criticized them for their secularity and their past as PZPR activists.

A second KOR current, formed around GLOS [Voice] newspaper and show leader is Antoni Macierewicz, might be called "Christian socialist." It gathers together most of KOR's non-Marxist members who feel that there are no more classes, in the Marxist sense of the work, in Poland and that it is therefore mistaken to consider Solidarity merely as a working-class movement. This current attaches great importance to working out an economic program and it is in fact an economist from among its ranks, Stefan Kurowski, who is the author of the plan[3] most widely agreed upon within Solidarity for getting Poland out of its crisis state. Stefan Kurowski, considered to be one of the country's eminent economists, has also conceived a political plan: He is currently proposing regrouping all the factions within Solidarity with the exception of the "secular left" into a huge political grouping called "Independence and Democracy."

The group of Christian socialists also includes presitigious Catholic intellectuals such as, for example, Messrs T. Masuwiecki and B. Cywinski, who run the trade union federation's national weekly, SOLIDARNOSC [Solidiarity] (circulation: 500,000 copies), as well as Professor Geremek, one of the advisers who undoubtedly exercises

a significant influence on Lech Walesa. In general, these Catholic intellectuals feel that the trade union movement ought to stay within the framework of the Gdansk agreements. In order to get the country out of political and economic chaos, they are counting on a moderate agreement with the government which would permit them to set up a kind of national committee of public safety of which they would be the main elements.

Walesa's National Struggle

Lech Walesa himself is the embodiment of a populist current. His political ideas are fairly general and are confined to notions of liberty, democracy and national sovereignty. Shaped by religion and very much linked to the clergy, he has been strongly influenced by the former primate of Poland, Msgr Wyszynski, whose counsels of moderation he has always followed (particularly at the time of the Bydgoszcz affair last March). He maintains special ties with the current primate, Msgr Glemp, and undoubtedly listens to the Supreme Pontiff's opinion. Walesa has undeniable charisma which he places in the service of a political plan with a unifying purpose. In this opinion Solidarity represents a moral force which is the expression of the Polish nation. The national character of the trade union federation overrides everything. Walesa is leading a national struggle against the disintegration and breaking up of Polish values. It is not by chance that this populist current which he embodies has assigned the trade union federation (whose name, Solidarity, attests to this unifying desire) the very symbols of "eternal" Poland: The national flag, crowned eagle, Catholic cross, and patriotic anthem.

Nationalists are active in the Young Poland movement which is very influential in the Gdansk region. In that region a number of them occupy responsible positions within the trade union federation's administrative machinery (at national and regional levels). The leaders of Young Poland, in particular Aleksander Hall, support Lech Walesa's line. Though they are nationalists, they stand up for a democratic and pluralist conception of society ("in which even the communist party," they say, "would have its place") and feel that returning the economy to the private sector on a general basis is not at all to be desired. They wish for genuine independence vis-a-vis the USSR but acknowledge that a non-communist Poland must keep up good relations with it; they would agree to a kind of "Finlandization" of their country. Young Poland is a fast-expanding movement which held its 1st congress 20-21 July 1981 in Gdynia in which some hundred delegates from all over Poland participated.[4] This fact in and of itself constitutes a significant event in the history of contemporary Poland for until the present time no unofficial party had been able to hold a congress with the knowledge of the authorities.

The Young Poland movement draws its inspiration in part from the political thinking of the essayist Lech Badkowski who, for his part, has just founded a club for political reflection in Gdansk, Constitution of 3 May[5], with the aim of bringing together politicians with different perspectives, inviting them to jointly turn their attention to the concrete problems which face the country. Clubs of this kind, not yet authorized, are starting to multiply. They now exist in Torun, Wroclaw and Krakow. In the near future they could give birth to new parties.

Badkowski, who advised Walesa at the time the Gdansk agreements were being negotiated, is highly regarded for his political shrewdness and for his constructive moderation. He feels that when the situation has stabilized Solidarity must get back to the

"right format" for a trade union and must see its position and powers diminish, especially with regard to its surrogate functions. In addition he considers it "neither normal nor healthy" that the church be responsible for playing a role as a protector of trade unions and political mediator. Finally, as long ago as last March he was one of the first to have publicly proposed an "historic compromise among all indispensable forces--namely, the communist party, Solidarity, the church, and political clubs--in order that Poland may be well governed"[6] as a possible solution to the impasse the country finds itself in . It is in fact Lech Badkowski to whom Lech Walesa entrusted the management of the big upcoming Solidarity weekly, ZAMOZARDNOSC (Self-management), which will come out in November with a run of 250,000 copies.

The ultranationalist current is represented by sympathizers of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN). Founded in 1979 by Robert Moczulski on the political foundations he expounded in his book "Revolution Without Revolution," the KPN is a curious political phenomenon since it is a grouping without a specific program and about which people know only its slogans of total and immediate national independence and breaking off with the Soviet Union. In spite of its lack of a program, an undeniable sympathy towards the KPN is slowly spreading over the country, especially in industrial regions like Silesia. Its being radically against the government is undeniably appealing, and the fact that the KPN's leaders are in prison fosters that sympathy. These extremists, called "counter-revolutionary elements" by the regime, call the PZPR in turn an "anti-national force," which in the eyes of Poles represents the worst of political abominations. It is KPN sympathizers who got the motion adopted at the Solidarity congress calling for free elections at all levels, thus making confrontation with the government inevitable before long since the next regional elections are supposed to take place next December. Within Solidarity KPN people control most of the committees for the defense of prisoners of conscience.

Confronting the Government

All these political components, organized into factions, make Solidarity a new type of trade union federation in which workers now also express citizen demands in an attempt to find a balance between notions of equality and freedom. The political debate in its midst is of a revolutionary spirit and aims at reconciling individual freedom, social freedom, and national freedom. In any case, analysis of these different factions shows that the accusation of antisocialism so often brought against some of these currents (in particular against KOR) is unfounded. None of the components (even a minority one) is proposing the restoration of capitalism. On the contrary, the great majority want to see a powerful socialist party reborn.

In the area of strategy, which is to say in regard to the forms which confrontation with the government ought to take, there are also differences of opinion within the independent trade union federation. Moreover, it is in that area that the opposition between "radicals" and "moderates" has all of its meaning. Apart from the rank and file, which, as has been observed, wants a confrontation with the government as soon as possible, "radicals" are mainly recruited from the KPN as well as Jerzy Milewski's and Andrzej Gwiazda's groups. All the other currents (KOR, social-Christians, Young Poland and populists) are usually "moderate" and in a realistic fashion seek a negotiated agreement with the regime.

It is interesting to note that the main program theses adopted by the congress (self-management, ending the 'Nomenklatura" and free elections) were proposed by "radical" sectors (Milewski's group and KPN people, respectively), undoubtedly as a consequence of the offensive conducted by the government in July and August against the trade union dfederation's leadership. That leadership was then forced into becoming radical and just before the PZPR congress had to accept Milewski's self-management program arguments. However, it is well known that KOR, for example, is not completely won over by those arguments. In addition, the "secular left" thinks that it is also too soon to call for free elections. Free elections would deprive the PZPR of the legal basis of its power and from that point on references to its "leadership role" would have hardly any meaning. The USSR would see itself stripped of its institutional guarantees and no verbal guarantee could succeed in dissuading it from intervening. Therefore KOR feels that the national guarantees of the party's power must not be done away with, that that is the limitation on the Polish revolution. This is without a doubt an awkward limitation but beyond it lies only confrontation in KOR's opinion.

In the face of the government's lack of comprehension and its aggressiveness, the tactic of Solidarity's moderates has consisted of letting the radicals express themselve freely. In this way the government has been able to size up the deep-seated will for change existing in the country. But now it is the entire trade union federation which finds itself going down a road on which there turns out to be very little room for compromise.

At any rate, the system is deteriorating seriously as a result of the simultaneous existence of a powerful democratic organization and, on the other hand, administrative structures which are still totalitarian. It is necessary to quickly accomplish a restructuring and stabilization of the social and economic system (that is the whole political significance of Solidarity's self-management plan, since through self-management workers would exercise a democratic influence on the decisions determining economic and social policy on the national level--they would be integrated into a changing set of responsibilities which could perhaps reconcile the contradictory requirements of social reality and international reality). In the event this does not happen, the system's rapid deterioration could lead to worse. Now then, at the present time it is the PZPR, isolated and discredited, in whose interest it is to paint things as black as possible. It is now the PZPR which might be short on realis[illegible]let itself slip into adventurism by acts of provocation against Solidarity. F[illegible]e, possible recourse to a state of emergency (on 2 occasions in September the go[illegible]ment was on the point of proclaiming one) or authorizing the militarization o[illegible] enterprises would provoke a radical response from Solidarity--a general strike.[illegible] The army and the working class would then find themselves face to face. To the discomfiture of all camps, a build-up of one-upmanship would risk leading Poland into inevitable disaster and tragedy.

PHOTO CAPTION

Posted on walls in al the large cities, widespread skepticism: "PIERWSZY EFEKT IX ZJAZDU PZPR: OBCIECIE RACJI ZYWNOSCIOWYCH!" [First result of the 9th PZPR Congress: Reduction of food rations by half!]

FOOTNOTES

1. Jerzy Milewski, "Polska Partia Pracy" [Polish Labor Party] followed by "Statut Tymczasowy polskiej partii pracy" [Provisional Statute of the Polish Labor Party], 32 pages, mimeographed, Gdansk, 1981.

2. KOR has ceased its activities as an autonomous organization since Solidarity was set up. Its members, mostly intellectuals, have blended into the trade union federation where they perform advisory functions in regional and national leadership bodies. KOR's formal dissolution does not lessen this current's prestige, influence or importance within Solidarity.

3. Stefan Kurowski, "Wyjscier Kryzysu - Program Alternatywny" [Way Out of Crisis - Alternative Program], 8 pages, mimeographed, Warsaw, September 1981 (see page 4 article by Jean-Yves Potel).

4. "Ruch Mlodej Polski, Wobec Obecnych Problemow Kraju" [Movement of Young Poland Vis-a-Vis Current Problems of the Country], 16 pages, mimeographed, Gdansk, 1981.

5. This club puts out an information bulletin entitled "Wlasne Zdanie" [Own Opinion] (two issues have come out), available free of charge at the following address: Ulica Maracka 50/52, 80/833 Gdansk.

6. POLITYKA, 7 March 1981, Warsaw.

7. "La societe polonaise et l'etat d'urgence" [Polish Society and the State of Emergency], L'ALTERNATIVE, Issue 12, September-October 1981.

9631
CSO: 3100/65

CHANGES IN TEACHER'S CHARTER PROPOSED

ZNP Social Commission Proposes Charter Changes

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 4 Jan 81 pp 7, 11

[Article by Kazimierz Wojciechowski]

[Text] The educational milieu is completely convinced that changes are needed in the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher. Remarks, demands and concrete proposals were made concerning this issue during the last electoral campaign by ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] elements, as well as at the 13th National Congress of Delegates.

Opposing these demands, the Secretariat of the Main Board of ZNP-Education and Upbringing Employees, elected at that congress, appointed a working team of employees of the main board. This team, selected 25 October 1980, was to gather materials and develop an initial concept for changes in the charter. A month later, at a plenary meeting of the Main Board of ZNP-Education and Upbringing Employees, the Social Commission for Updating the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher was appointed. This commission included union activists and teachers as well as representatives of union sections.* Teofil Nowak, director of the ZNP ZG [Main Board] Legal and Social Affairs Department, chaired the commission. From the ZG ZNP Secretariat, Lilia Gorniak, ZG ZNP secretary, also participated.

The commission members, using the recommendations, proposals and demands collected from the field and the materials prepared by the employees of the main board,

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*The commission included the following colleagues: Tomasz Biecharczyk, Krosno; Kazimierz Havro, Czestochowa; Jozef Kaminski, Lodz; Danuta Lukowska, Szczecin; Stefan Myszczynski, Bialystok; Danuta Pandowska, Slupsk; Wladyslaw Pluta, Chelm; Helena Slugocka, Gorzow; Aleksander Szymanski, Gdansk; Henryk Wojcik, Plock; Antoni Zeglen, Zielona Gora; Mieczyslaw Gorecki, Wroclaw; Wlodzimierz Letek, Katowice; Jan Pasieka, Lodz; Barbara Mirosz, Warsaw; Marian Kopec, Poznan. Also included were representatives of union sections: Janina Kupiecka, administrative employees; Mieczyslaw Marczuk, adult education; Gabriel Rzysko, liberal arts education; Jadwiga Sadowska, library science; Irena Dudzinska, preschool upbringing; Adam Romanowski, retirees.

proposed initial charter amendments during meetings 11-12 December and 18-19 December 1980. We are presenting here the first part of those proposals; the second part will be published in a subsequent issue of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI.

Initial Recommendations

The commission worked on amending only regulations relating to teachers and educators. In the opinion of the commission, problems affecting university teachers should be solved separately by a team representing this category of employees. The result should then be inserted into the general charter, or a separate Charter on the Rights and Duties of the University Teacher should be developed.

The commission likewise examined the proposal of representatives of the Administrative Employees' Section and Service Employees' Section, that the regulations of the charter, like the miners' charter, cover all employees in education and upbringing; i.e., teachers, educators and employees who are not teachers. This proposal, however, could not be considered, because it would require a completely new charter, whereas the commission had been instructed to propose amendments to the existing law. However, the commission maintained that for the category of education and upbringing employees who are not teachers, the ZNP Main Board should prepare either a separate charter or a collective labor contract as soon as possible.

In undertaking work to amend the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher, the commission endeavored:

--to eliminate obsolete regulations, to transfer parts of the regulations to other legal documents, to eliminate or change those regulations universally considered by teachers as detrimental and unjust, and hindering the fulfillment of professional tasks;

--to retain all regulations representing the permanent achievement of the teacher's profession;

--to introduce regulations to improve the status of the teaching profession, to bring into the profession worthy individuals and to create stimuli for increasing the quality of the teacher's profession and, consequently, for improving the level of education and upbringing in schools and education-upbringing institutions.

Proposals in Detail

Here we will not discuss the proposed changes of a formal, a stylistic or a routine nature. We will concentrate on the proposals for essential change and supplements.

The Directorial Cadre (arts 4-6 of the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher)

The commission proposes the establishment of the following principles:

--the appointment of teachers to directorial positions and their dismissal from these positions should be approved by the pedagogical council and by the appropriate union echelons;

--appointments to directorial positions should be made for an unlimited period of time (formerly this was 5 years); only exceptionally should they be for a limited period. The school director (the director of an education-upbringing institution) should feel secure in his position;

--candidates for directorial positions should have the appropriate professional and moral qualifications and directorial capabilities.

Pedagogical Supervision (arts 7-8)

Teachers appointed to work as pedagogical supervisors should:

--be given leave (without pay) from their previous places of work;

--retain their teacher's rights: their basic wages, their merit bonuses acquired for work achievements, special awards, honors issuing from the charter, the right to additional living space, retirement rights and preferences for teachers' children;

--retain their right to functional living quarters.

The most important task of pedagogical supervisory employees is to assist the employees of schools and educational administrative units to execute their teaching, upbringing, protective and directorial functions. The next task is to ensure proper working conditions. Their third most important duty is to conduct inspections and evaluations of the operation of schools and educational administrative units.

The duty of conducting at least 2 class hours should be abolished, since in practice the implementation of this duty is a burden for both sides; it is ineffective and a considerable part of this time is wasted.

The appointment of teachers to work in pedagogical supervision in a directorial position (the curator and the deputy, the inspector and the deputy, the gmina and municipal director of schools) requires the approval of the proper union echelons; the appointment to other positions, on the other hand, requires the opinion of these echelons. The gmina school director should have the title of gmina inspector of education and upbringing. This would likewise enable the separation of the function of school director from the position of gmina school director (they are now combined).

Teachers' Qualifications (arts 9-13)

The commission proposes that the nomenclature of article 10 of the charter be abandoned; i.e., the titles: certified teacher, certified educator, secondary school professor.

Wages (arts 15-31)

In this section of the charter, the commission proposes a series of essential changes and additions. Article 15, regarding raises from 1 May 1972 to 1 September 1976, is obsolete and should be deleted. The commission proposes automatic promotions for teachers every 2 years until retirement age. Previously the obligatory

promotion came every 4 years, with the last promotion after 24 years of service (since 1 October 1980 an additional promotion after 26 years of service has been introduced). In this same article the commission recommends that the average salary of a teacher not be lower than the average salary of engineering-technical employees in the national economy. Operational allowances for directors in schools and education-upbringing institutions are proposed at 40 to 50 percent of the basic wage, and for deputy directors, one-half the amount of the director's allowance.

According to the commission's proposals, a basic change should be made in the regulations concerning overtime hours. The regulation that only a teacher who effectively utilizes overtime hours beyond the obligatory number of full-time hours during the given week is eligible for remuneration, should be deleted. Overtime hours, according to the commission's proposals, may be granted to the teacher for additional remuneration only in special cases dictated by the necessity to implement a teaching program equal to a load of not more than one-fourth full-time employment. A greater number of hours may be assigned only with the teacher's approval, and the remuneration for any overtime exceeding one-fourth full-time employment should be 50 percent greater.

Apart from these proposed changes and additions, the charter should contain the principle that the amount of a teacher's basic salary should be contingent upon the level of his education, the number of years in teaching and--a new proposal--the results of the teacher's work. The charter should shorten the possible promotional periods for excellent teachers who achieve the best results in their work.

The Teaching Load (arts 32-35)

The contents of article 32 should be changed and transferred to the executory regulations, along with the elimination of the duty of substitute teaching for 2 hours weekly without pay.

In place of article 32, the charter should further reduce the weekly teaching load to the ultimate level of 18 hours in elementary and secondary schools, whereas in other institutions conducting education-upbringing activity, the load should be reduced in a manner corresponding to the reduction of the workload in the schools. In the regulation of the teacher's worktime according to executory regulations, remuneration for overtime hours on Sunday and holidays should be paid according to the labor code.

Awards (art 38)

Article 38 should be supplemented with the entry that a plant awards fund be created for teachers and university teachers and that anniversary awards be granted to these teachers.

The amount of the anniversary awards should be set in the following way: 50 percent of the monthly remuneration for 20 years of service, 100 percent of the monthly remuneration for 25 years of service, 150 percent of the monthly remuneration for 30 years of service and 200 percent of the monthly remuneration for 35 years of service.

In addition to the plant awards funds, the special awards fund should be continued. The latter, at the disposal of the minister of education and upbringing, would be granted for special educational and scholarly achievements in the given school year. The amount of the special award should equal at least 3 months' remuneration for the given teacher.

Distinctions and Service Titles (arts 39-41)

The commission proposes that the Gold Cross of Merit be awarded to those who have served as teachers for 20 years (eliminating the term "beyond reproach"). The executory regulations should specify cases in which a teacher does not have the right to merit this distinction (e.g., unobliterated disciplinary punishment). After 30 years of distinguished pedagogical service and sociopolitical activity, the teacher should receive the Cross of a Chevalier of the Polonia Restituta (class V). Moreover, the teacher decorated with the National Education Board [KEN] Medal or with the honorary title "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" should receive a special award from the minister of education and upbringing.

Article 41 (concerning professional titles) should be deleted.

Social Fund (art 42)

The text of this article should be replaced with: "For teachers and other school employees a social fund is being created, amounting to 4 percent of the planned annual private fund of the salary of these employees. This fund is likewise supported by retirees and pensioners."

Other Special Teachers' Rights (arts 43-52)

The charter should guarantee the right to free housing for teachers employed within all villages and hamlets and within cities of up to 5,000 inhabitants; this proposal expands this right. At the same time the following regulation should be added to the charter: "That teachers employed within all villages and hamlets as well as within cities of up to 5,000 inhabitants be awarded a permanent supplement to their basic salary."

Further Proposed Changes

The right to occupy living quarters in school buildings and in buildings used by schools should belong not only to employees in active service and employed in schools, but also to retirees and pensioners. If a teacher does not take advantage of free housing, the office of the local state administration is obliged to pay a suitable equivalent.

A teacher using additional housing space should be released from the obligation of paying higher rent. Should a teacher be unable to receive additional living space, the teacher should receive an equivalent in the form of 50 percent additional pay for difficult working conditions.

Teachers employed in villages should be guaranteed the purchase of fuel according to the norm for the city population by the local organs of the state administration, and they should be guaranteed free delivery of fuel to their living quarters.

A teacher working in the village, in a hamlet or in a city of up to 5,000 inhabitants, as well as members of the immediate family, should be reimbursed for travel costs of doctor's visits.

The children of teachers are entitled to first priority in admittance to nurseries, preschools, boarding schools, dormitories, university houses and secondary schools, as well as to higher schools, if they pass the entrance exam. The existing regulation speaks only of priority in admittance to boarding schools, dormitories and university houses, as well as to higher schools, if their qualifications equal other children's.

A housekeeping allowance should be awarded to all teachers beginning work in schools, immediately after completing their studies. Formerly, the condition for the payment of this allowance was the new teacher's undertaking work beyond the permanent place of residence and changing the place of residence.

The right to reduced train fares for the teacher and spouse (continuing in retirement) should be expanded at PKS [Polish Motor Transport]. This concerns work travel.

In addition, the statements in this section concerning health protection should be moved to a separate chapter entitled "Health Protection for Teachers." This section should include regulations concerning the health fund, compulsory specialized medical examinations, professional illnesses, vacations and reduced workloads for health reasons. In the regulation of vacations taken to restore health, the division of the vacation period into a 3-month period should be abandoned (vacations should be granted for a period of 1 year).

Teacher's Day (art 53)

This article, stating that "on the day commemorating the creation of the National Education Board, 14 October, each year, Teacher's Day will be celebrated," should be supplemented with the statement that this is a day free from classes and that the interested ministries, in an understanding with the appropriate trade unions, determine the particular organizational character of the festivities. (TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE)

Kazimierz Wojciechowski

ZNP Social Commission Proposals Continued

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 11 Jan 81 pp 6, 7

[Article by Kazimierz Wojciechowski]

[Text] In the previous issue of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, we discussed the results of the work of the union's [ZNP] Social Commission for Updating the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher. We outlined the most important proposals for changes and additions encompassing charter articles 1 to 53. A continuation of these proposals follows.

Vacations (arts 54-63)

Article 54, paragraph 1 of the charter should be supplemented with this entry: "A teacher earns a vacation on the final day of classes. The right to his next

vacation comes with every first day of the next calendar year." This gives every teacher who has worked through the entire school year the right to a recreational vacation during summer vacations.

Moreover, the possibility of a teacher's being employed during summer vacations should be reduced from 15 days to 7 days, with regard to the execution of the activities listed in article 54, paragraph 2. The assignment of duty in schools to teachers during summer vacations should be eliminated. These turns of duty in most cases are a mere formality and quite frequently disrupt the teachers' rest.

The next, very important proposal follows. According to the former provisions of the charter, in schools and educational-upbringing institutions without a summer break (e.g., in preschools and children's homes), teachers and educators are entitled to a 6-week recreational vacation. This period should be extended to 48 working days. This demand has been voiced for many years by preschool teachers (before the war they were given a 2-month vacation) as well as by other employees of education-upbringing institutions.

The principle of 48 working days should likewise be applied in granting recreational vacations when a teacher cannot use the entitled vacation because of illness, obligatory professional self-improvement or the enhancement of qualifications in study programs for employees.

Service Responsibility (arts 64-78)

The commission proposes, with regard to regulatory penalties, that the provisions of articles 108-113 of the labor code be adopted in the following, partly changed, version: For lesser transgressions of service responsibilities (the violation of the prescribed order, work discipline or bhp [industrial safety and hygiene] regulations), the teacher is reprimanded.

A penalty may not be applied later than 2 weeks after the violation of employee obligations has been reported and later than 1 month after the admission of this violation. The penalty may be applied only after a hearing of the teacher. The penalty is meted out to the teacher by the school director, the authority who is the direct superior of the director and the deputy administer their penalties. The teacher receives this information in writing. A copy of the letter is filled with the teacher's personal records.

Within 3 days of being informed of the penalty, the teacher may present his objections. Whether these objections will be complied with or rejected is up to the school director in conjunction with the proper element of the trade unions. Failure to reject the objections within 14 days from the date of their submission is equivalent to compliance.

The penalty is considered canceled and mention of it is removed from the teacher's personal file. The letter informing the teacher of his penalty is removed from his personal records after 1 year of service beyond reproach.

Disciplinary Penalties. Penalties should be limited to four degrees: a reprimand, a reprimand with a warning, dismissal from a position and dismissal with a prohibition of returning to the teaching profession.

The meting out of a disciplinary penalty (a reprimand, a reprimand with a warning) should not bring financial consequences with the teacher being kept from the next salary level. The teacher's immediate family members suffer the consequences of such action. Moreover, the teacher punished this way is in principle bypassed for awards, distinctions, special bonuses and merit promotions.

There is a legitimate need to change the provisions of article 67, paragraph 2, establishing both echelons of the disciplinary commission at the provincial level (through the superintendent's office of education and upbringing). The proposals for changes move in the direction of maintaining the first echelon of the disciplinary commission at the superintendent's office of education and upbringing and placing the second, revocatory echelon in the office of the minister of education and upbringing.

Together with a draft of the amended regulations of the charter, executory regulations in this area should be developed and submitted for an opinion. In these regulations, the right of membership in opinion-rendering groups of disciplinary commissions is to be reserved exclusively for active teachers. Employees of the school administration should be excluded from the commission:

Disciplinary penalties should be obliterated following 2 years of irreproachable work after the validation of the decision.

Independently of the right of the appropriate minister to revise an extreme decision of the disciplinary commission, the main board of the appropriate trade union should have this same right.

Embarking on a work relationship (arts 79-86)

The regulation that discusses the procedure and conditions for granting tenure should be supplemented. If a place of work has not fulfilled its obligation to evaluate a teacher's work for 3 years, the teacher should be automatically granted tenure at that time. The teacher should be guaranteed tenure within the time appointed by the law, and his employment status should be resolved by the end of this period. We must also rule out the possibility of using contracts of orders, which previously operated outside the provisions of the charter.

Changes in an Employment Relationship (arts 87-91)

The regulation in article 88, paragraph 2 (concerning transfers without the teacher's consent) should likewise apply to transferring the teacher from one position to another within the framework of the same institution; for example, in a consolidated plant, the teacher's transfer from the position of teacher to the position of tutor or teacher of the practical science of a trade. This enables the teacher's proper interests to be safeguarded, particularly in a situation in which basic changes occur in workload, remuneration elements, vacation rights and the like.

In article 88, paragraph 2 the practice of transferring a teacher from office without his approval due to organizational changes in the institution, causing the total or partial liquidation of the school, should be retained. On the other hand, the regulation permitting the transfer of the teacher from office without his approval

to secure a teacher-specialist for the school should be eliminated. In practice this regulation was invoked for so-called punitive transfers. The proper cadre staff of the school, in accordance with its program needs, should be guaranteed by the proper distribution of graduates, the appropriate (i.e., in accordance with the needs of the school) direction of actively employed teachers into study and the like.

In article 88, it should be clearly specified that shifting a teacher within the framework of a consolidated gmina school is, in fact, transferring him. Consequently, this gives the teacher specific rights. On the other hand, the school authorities have the obligation to guarantee this teacher proper working conditions.

In article 88, paragraph 3, item 3, the following statement should be added: "...in the event of a transfer to an area which is recognized to be short of qualified cadre, he is likewise entitled to bank credit granted on the basis of separate regulations."

An addition to article 90, paragraph 1 should be introduced that the teacher is obliged to complete his obligatory workload by supplementing with hours served in the same school in a different position or by teaching subjects carrying a different number of hours, but only up to the number of hours comprised by the workload of the position for which hired.

Terminating a Work Relationship (arts 92-101)

In article 92 the following should be added that the text of paragraph 1 altered to read "a work relationship with a teacher is terminated on the basis of an understanding on both sides" (this form is borrowed from the labor code).

Article 92, paragraph 1, item 5 should be changed. The new entry should state that the termination of a work relationship with an appointed teacher occurs with the close of the school year if he has reached retirement age and if the period of employment gives him the right to a pension at his present age. If a teacher who has reached retirement age has not yet attained the right to a pension (because he has not worked enough years), the work relationship should not be terminated until he attains this right during a period not exceeding 5 years beyond retirement age.

In article 92, paragraph 1 an entry should be added for preventing the termination of a work relationship with a teacher until he can claim his retirement-pension benefits.

Article 92, paragraph 4, should be expanded in order to protect the teacher against the abuse of the employer's authority to direct a teacher to be investigated by the Commission for Disability and Employment Affairs. According to current regulations, failure to make an appointment for such an investigation on two occasions terminates the work relationship.

Article 94, paragraph 1 must be made more precise to indicate that in the event of organizational changes in the institution or its total liquidation, the employer has the obligation to guarantee the teacher employment in accordance with his qualifications. Moreover, decisions concerning the termination of the work relationship and awarding compensation should be made by the administrative organ at the provincial level with the approval of the provincial echelon of the trade union. This does not demean the authority of the plant council in this area.

Article 96 should be deleted from the charter as the least democratic form of terminating the work relationship. Moreover, dismissal from work according to this procedure is equivalent to prohibiting a teacher's subsequent employment in another school.

Article 97, paragraph 1, item 5, concerning the termination of the work relationship as a consequence of one's relinquishing one's job, should be deleted. In its place should be the regulation that cases of this sort be investigated by the disciplinary commission.

In article 98, paragraph 1, the words "at any time" should be deleted. In article 98, paragraph 3, the principle should be adopted that a work relationship with a teacher may not be terminated if his failure to be appointed was for reasons caused by the administration.

The entry in paragraphs 4-5 should read "a work relationship may be terminated without a blame of the teacher in the event that:

--a teacher admits guilt for a crime, the perpetration of which makes his continued employment in the given position impossible and the blame for this crime is self-evident, or guilt has been ascertained by a legal judgment in court;

--the forfeiture of the powers necessary for the execution of work in the present position is committed;

--there is a serious violation of basic employee obligations;

--a justified absence from work for reasons other than illness, a vacation or isolation due to a contagious disease continues uninterrupted for more than 3 months.

Severance Pay (art 102)

According to the charter, only a tenured teacher is entitled to severance pay. In the opinion of the commission, the teacher's authorization to receive the severance pay that is due should include all teachers regardless of the length of employment.

Pension Benefits (arts 103-105)

In article 105, paragraph 1, the amount of the pension or annuity adjustment should be increased from 10 percent to 20 percent, like the pay increases received by university teachers.

In addition, this section should be expanded in areas relating to the other rights of retirees and pensioners; e.g., their right to benefits from social, housing and health funds.

The amended charter should also ensure the right to free housing for all teacher retirees and pensioners who have worked in villages, hamlets and cities of up to 5,000 population, regardless of when they retired or were pensioned. Currently the charter affords this right only to retirees and pensioners who retired or were pensioned after 1 May 1972. This is one of the unfair and unjust provisions that should be changed.

Cooperation with the Polish Teachers Union [ZNP] (art 10)

The title of this section should be changed, since we have other teacher's trade unions.

In paragraph 2, article 106, the following text should be introduced: "The principles of cooperation are determined by an understanding of the ministers supervising schools with the appropriate trade unions."

Article 106 should have the following changes:

--in the first section the words "and the productivity" should be deleted;

--in the second section the phrases "both during active service and likewise after the teacher has gone on pension or annuity should be added;

--in the third section the words "housing, health" should be added;

--in the fifth section the expression "the termination" should be deleted.

The text in article 106 should be supplemented with the following statement: "The violation of agreements concerning work relationships nullifies decisions. The violation of agreements in remaining matters authorizes the union to lodge protests, and ultimately to call a strike."

Transitional and Concluding Regulations (arts 107-125)

The most important change in this section should be the introduction of new provisions affording a teacher the right to appeal decisions of school authorities of the second echelon in the court of labor and social security, if he considers these decisions not in accordance with the law.

In the closing regulations a provision should oblige the Council of Ministers to issue executory regulations within a period of 6 months, and the appropriate ministers to issue executory regulations within a period of 3 months from the date of publication of the amended Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher.

The commission likewise proposes that a new chapter entitled "Service Record" be inserted, to contain the following statement: "The school authority will conduct a service record for each teacher, in which will be entered essential data concerning the teacher and his service. When the teacher gets his first job, he assembles the personal documents necessary for his employer to complete the service record. As he continues to work, he is obliged to assembly documents certifying changes that do not issue from orders of the authorities. The authorities keep multiple copies of documents with official records, while the documents themselves are returned to the owner. The teacher has the right to review the service record, to make copies and to file complaints. The minister of education and upbringing establishes the model for the service record as well as the detailed regulations with regard to completing the record keeping it."

We have presented the most important proposals for changes and additions that the commission feels should amend the Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher.

The next stage is for the commission to develop the draft of the amended charter, giving it full meaning. Its structure and the titles of particular chapters will be changed according to the following order: (1) introductory provisions, (2) the teacher's tasks, (3) teachers appointed to fulfill directorial functions in the school, (4) teachers appointed to work in pedagogical supervision, (5) the teacher's qualifications, (6) the teacher's professional improvement, (7) the workload, (8) wages, (9) embarking on a work relationship, (10) changes in the work relationship, (11) terminating a work relationship, (12) supplementary employment, (13) vacations, (14) teacher's health protection, (15) awards, (16) distinctions and service titles, (17) Teacher's Day, (18) social rights and other special rights, (19) plant funds, (20) disciplinary penalties, (21) disciplinary action, (22) the suspension of active service, (23) severance pay, (24) teacher retirees, (15) service record, (26) cooperation with the Polish Teachers' Union, (27) transitional and concluding regulations.

The ZNP Main Board will make available to its members the complete text of the proposed amended Charter on the Rights and Duties of the Teacher, in order to poll their opinions and hear their demands. Based on the broadest consultation possible, the main board will work out its definitive position and will present this to the State authorities.

The ZNP Main Board is counting on the most widespread participation possible among the general membership of the union in discussing the charter. This is an issue of extreme importance for every teacher--to make the amended law regulating the rights and duties of educators a document that meets with expectations.

Written by:
Kazimierz Wojciechowski

Ministerial Draft of 1981 Teachers' Charter

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 24 May 81 Insert, pp I-XVI

[Text] In accordance with the establishment of the 23d National Congress of ZNP delegates in education, we are printing the ministry's draft of the teacher's charter.

Recognizing the high social rank of the teacher's position and the profound role played by teaching and upbringing for the nation and the socialist state, the Sejm passes this law--the Teacher's Charter.

A Law Dated 1981
The Teacher's Charter
Draft

Section 1

Introductory Provisions

Article 1

The following are subject to the law:

1) teachers, educators and other pedagogical employees of state schools and other educational and schooling institutions, upbringing institutions and guardianship-upbringing institutions created and operating on the basis of a law dated 15 July 1961, concerning the development of the system of education and upbringing (DZIENNIK USTAW no 32, item 160);

2) teachers and educators in health care institutions, health care-upbringing institutions and health care guardianship institutions;

3) teachers, educators and other pedagogical employees of correctional facilities, shelters for minors, family diagnositic-consultative centers and schools connected with penal institutions;

4) pedagogical employees of school and pedagogical libraries, methodology centers and institutions for educational-professional consultation;

5) teachers employed in schools and other educational and schooling institutions, upbringing institutions and guardianship-upbringing institutions conducted by cooperative unions and school organizations (institutions) carrying out statutory education-upbringing activity;

6) pedagogical employees employed in positions as teachers in centers for training cadres and centers for professional training;

7) teachers employed in organizational units of educational administration in an area established by the law.

Article 2

Whenever this law speaks of:

1) teachers without being more specific, this is to be understood as teachers, educators and other pedagogical employees appointed in the schools and institutions listed in article 1, items 1-6;

2) schools without being more specific, this is to be understood as schools and the other institutions listed in article 1, items 1-6;

3) organizational units of educational administration, this is to be understood:

   a) with reference to schools subordinated to local organs of the state administration at the provincial level, as the school superintendents' offices for education and upbringing as well as the other departments of provincial offices conducting schools on the basis of separate regulations;

   b) with reference to schools subordinated to local organs of the state administration at the basic level, as the departments of education and upbringing or of the gmina school directors;

   c) with reference to schools not subordinated to local organs of the state administration, the appropriate minister or the organizational unit subject to and designated by him;

d) with reference to schools conducted by cooperative unions, social organizations (institutions) carrying out statutory education-upbringing activity, the main boards of these unions and social organizations (institutions) or their organizational units authorized by them;

4) the interested ministers without being more specific, this is to be understood as both the presidents (chairmen) of cooperative union central councils and of social organizations (institutions) carrying out statutory education-upbringing activity.

Section II

The Teacher's Role and Tasks

Chapter 1

The Teacher's Tasks

Article 3

1) A teacher of the Polish People's Republic should:

-educate youth in the spirit of socialist principles of social coexistence, love of the fatherland, peace and social justice, brotherhood with the working people of the whole world;

-instill love and respect for work, a sense of responsibility and social discipline;

-transmit basic knowledge and be concerned with the many-sided development of the pupil's personality;

-cooperate with other teachers in forming the proper atmosphere to foster the implementation of tasks, guided by considerations of the welfare of the school and the youth entrusted to him;

-develop an attitude of active coparticipate in the life of the country and the nation;

-enrich his own knowledge and skills, and in his behavior on the job and outside of work take care to see that his moral attitude as an educator is exemplary and that he is worthy of the teaching profession.

2) In order to fulfill the tasks specified in paragraph 1, the teacher is obliged:

-to implement, in a correct manner, the programs of teaching and upbringing, to achieve the best possible results in work, to perfect his methods of teaching and upbringing;

-to become familiar with all facets of his students, their personalities and interests, and to make use of the results of scientific studies for this task;

-to be concerned with the safety of the students entrusted to his care;

-to create conditions fostering the development of independent thought and learning among students as well as habits of independent work;

-to develop an active relationship of students to culture and the arts as well as their sensitivity to beauty;

-to work together with the social environment, scholarly associations, professional associations, the student academic movement and work plants, and primarily the parents or guardians of students;

-to support the self-government of students developing social activity and the skill to work in teams, to develop in them a sense of social responsibility;

-to abide by work discipline and the orders and guidelines of organizational units of the education administration and direct superiors.

3) The teacher's work is subject to evaluation, with the principles and procedure determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers.

Chapter 2

Tasks of the Teacher Appointed to Fulfill Directorial Functions in the School

Article 4

1) The school is operated by the director, who is its representative to the world, the superior of all school employees and the guardian of the youth studying in the school.

2) The director operates the school according to regulations.

3) The school director chairs the pedagogical council.

4) The detailed duties of the directors and deputy directors of schools and of the teachers entrusted with other directorial functions in the school are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers.

Article 5

1) School directors and deputy directors are appointed by the organizational unit of the education administration exercising direct control over the given school. They are selected from the actively employed teachers of the same or another school.

2) The particulars demanded of candidates for the positions of directors and deputy directors of schools, the procedure for appointing and dismissing them and the role of pedagogical councils in this area are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers, and with reference to schools of the arts, by the minister of culture and art in an understanding with the minister of education and upbringing.

3) The organizational unit of the education administration authorized to appoint a teacher to fulfill the function of director or deputy director of a school may dismiss him at any time with 3 months' notice.

4) The regulations in paragraphs 1-3 similarly apply to teachers appointed to fulfill other directorial functions.

Chapter 2

Tasks of Teachers Exercising Pedagogical Supervision

Article 6

1) The exercise of pedagogical supervision is performed by teachers employed in the main (central) and local organizational units of the education administration in positions requiring pedagogical qualifications and by school directors and other teachers fulfilling directorial functions in school.

2) The detailed list of positions as well as the scope of the duties, rights and qualifications of the teachers discussed in paragraph 1, and the principles of exercising pedagogical supervision are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers.

Article 7

1) The school superintendents and deputy school superintendents of education and upbringing are appointed and dismissed by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the appropriate governors (presidents).

2) Inspectors and deputy inspectors of education and upbringing and gmina directors (deputy directors) of schools are appointed and dismissed by the school superintendent of education and upbringing in an understanding with the appropriate head of the gmina, the town-gmina or the head (president) of a oblast or town.

3) The remaining teachers exercising pedagogical supervision are appointed and dismissed:

a) in main (central) organizational units of the education administration, by the appropriate minister;

b) in organizational units of the education administration at the provincial level, by the school superintendent of education and upbringing or by the director of the appropriate department of the provincial office;

c) in organizational units of the education administration at the basic level, by the inspector of education and upbringing or by the gmina director of schools.

4) The teachers discussed in paragraph 1-3 are appointed from actively appointed teachers. These teachers, except gmina directors (deputy directors) of schools, receive an unpaid leave during fulfillment of the functions discussed in paragraphs 1-3.

Section III

The Qualifications and Professional Improvement of Teachers

Chapter 1

Teachers' Qualifications

Article 8

The position of a teacher may be occupied by a person who possesses, as defined in the law:

1) the scholarly qualifications, pedagogical qualifications or the corresponding professional practical training;

2) the ideological and moral qualifications indispensable for the fulfillment of the teacher's functions;

and, moreover, who possesses the appropriate state of health indispensable for the fulfillment of a teacher's work.

Article 9

1. The position of a teacher may be occupied by a person who:

a) has completed studies in a school of higher education for teachers or

b) has completed studies in another higher school and possesses the pedagogical preparation gained during studies or in courses.

2) The position of a teacher in a preschool or another preschool institution, in a guardianship-upbringing institution or in an elementary school, and the position of a teacher of practical courses in trade schools may be occupied likewise by a person who has completed a secondary or a postsecondary institution for training teacher or a school of the arts at the second level.

Article 10

1) The minister of education and upbringing will define by decree the particular scholarly, professional, pedagogical and ideological-moral qualifications as well as the state of health required of candidates for teachers.

2) The minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers will determine:

a) the schools in which the positions of teachers may be occupied only by those persons with higher, master's level studies or parallel studies;

b) the detailed qualifications for the positions of school teachers and the principles for attaining the pedagogical qualifications for teaching in schools.

3) The minister of culture and art may determine the schools (other institutions of artistic training) in which the positions of teacher may be occupied by persons who have completed studies in an artistic school of the second level in an area corresponding to the subjects studied.

Article 11

In cases justified by a school's needs, the teacher may be a person who does not possess the qualifications specified in article 9 but has the credentials of many years of professional work applicable to the execution of the teacher's functions and possesses at least a secondary education.

Article 12

In matters concerning the qualifications of a teacher in the artistic disciplines, the corresponding regulations of the law concerning higher schools of the arts likewise apply.

Chapter 2

The Teacher's Self-improvement

Article 13

1) Teachers are obliged continually to deepen and update their scientific and didactic knowledge and constantly to improve their didactic and educative skills.

2) The particulars of the teacher's improvement are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the minister of science, higher education and technology, and for teachers of schools of the arts, by the minister of culture and art in an understanding with the minister of education and upbringing.

Section IV

Wages and Teaching Load

Chapter 1

Wages

Article 14

1) The teacher's salary consists of the basic salary and bonuses.

2) The amount of the basic salary is contingent upon the teacher's education and pedagogical experience, and the bonuses are contingent upon the function executed, the working conditions and the work results.

Article 15

1) The teacher advances to a higher level of basic salary every 2 years. The waiting period for reaching the highest level may not exceed 30 years of pedagogical work.

2) The average basic compensation of a teacher may not be lower than the average basic compensation paid engineering-technical employees in the national economy.

Article 16

1) Those teachers appointed to fulfill directorial functions are entitled to an operational allowance.

2) Likevise those teachers ordered to fulfill directorial duties as substitutes are entitled to an operational allowance. In such cases, the right to an allowance begins the first day of the month following the first full month of the fulfillment of these obligations and ceases the first day of the month following the cessation of the fulfillment of these obligations.

Variant I

Article 17

1) Teachers are entitled to an allowance for unbroken service in a school, known as an allowance for full term of service, paid in monthly installments in the following amounts:

a) after 5 years of service--5 percent of the monthly basic salary,

b) after 10 years of service--10 percent of the monthly basic salary,

c) after 15 years of service--15 percent of the monthly basic salary.

2) For service of many years, teachers are entitled to anniversary awards in the following amounts:

a) for 20 years of service--75 percent of the monthly salary,

b) for 25 years of service--100 percent of the monthly salary,

c) for 30 years of service--150 percent of the monthly salary,

3) The appointed times and principles for introducing allowances for full terms of service and anniversary awards will be determined by the Council of Ministers by decree.

Note: In the observance of article 18?

Variant II

In article 17, paragraph 1, item 4 is introduced:

4) after 20 years of service--20 percent of the monthly basic pay

Note: This variant assumes the liquidation of article 18 (special allowances).

Article 18

Teachers possessing higher qualifications and achieving distinguished results in didactic-educative work may be awarded a special allowance.

Article 19

Teachers working under difficult conditions, either harmful to health or onerous, are entitled to a service allowance.

Article 20

1) In special cases dictated exclusively by the necessity to implement a teaching program, a teacher may be obliged to work for compensation in overtime hours, the number of which may not exceed one-third of his obligatory weekly course load. The assignment of an added number of hours to a teacher may occur only with his consent.

2) By an overtime hour is understood an hour of didactic or educative activities above and beyond the obligatory weekly load.

3) Compensation for overtime is likewise paid for a justified work absence.

4) A pregnant woman or a woman responsible for the care of a child under 3 years of age may not be employed overtime without her consent.

Article 21

The amount of the basic salary rate, allowances, compensation for overtime and extra activities, the principles of rank and promotion, the awarding of allowances added to a teacher's salary and the list of extra activities for which a teacher is entitled to additional compensation is determined by the Council of Ministers by decree.

Article 22

As specified by law and by the regulations based on article 21, the teacher's basic salary, all allowances, the compensation for overtime, additional compensation for other teaching activities, awards and any sort of monetary payment and material benefits are free from wage tax and from deductions for the retirement fund.

Article 23

When a teacher is first appointed, he assumes the right to a salary from the first day on the work relationship.

Article 24

1) A change in the amount of salary paid during service because of an appointment (promotion) or other reasons begins the first day of the nearest calendar month, if the appointment (either for promotion or for other reasons) did not begin on the first day of the given calendar month.

2) Should a change in the service location change the salary, the right to a salary corresponding to the new service location goes into effect the first day of the calendar month following the assumption of service duties in the new location, if the assumption of such duties did not begin on the first day of the given calendar month.

Article 25

The right to a salary ceases:

1) in the event of the teacher's death--the final day of the calendar month in which the death occurred,

2) in the event of the termination of the work relationship--the day the work relationship ceased.

Article 26

The teacher retains the right to a salary during a warranted absence, to the extent that the regulations of the law do not proclaim otherwise.

Article 27

A teacher is paid his salary monthly at the end of the working period.

Article 28

In matters concerning:

1) death payments,

2) salary deductions,

3) the expiration of claims concerning salary or other monetary benefits stipulated by law,

the appropriate universally binding regulations of labor legislation apply.

Chapter 2

Work Time

Article 29

1) The weekly obligatory workload of teaching (upbringing) activities for full-time teachers is established according to the following table.

Lp *	Type of school	Weekly number of the obligatory load of teaching [upbringing] activities from 1 Sept 1981	from 1 Sept 1982
1	Preschool, with the exception of teachers working with groups of 6-year old children	26	25
2	Preschool teachers and teachers in other preschool institutions working with 6-year olds	24	22
3	Special preschools and training schools	20	18
4	Elementary schools, except for special schools	22	18
5	Training schools	18	18
6	Special schools	20	18
7	Liberal arts secondary schools	20	18
8	Studies: preschool education, cultural-educational training and library science	15	15
9	Trade schools, special trade schools, craftsman's training in institutions for juveniles:		
	a) teachers of theoretical subjects	20	18
	b) teachers of practical science of a profession	24	22
10	Art schools and other institutions of artistic training:		
	a) teachers of artistic and liberal arts subjects	20	18
	b) teachers of practical science of the profession	24	22
11	Pedagogical technical studies:		
	a) teachers of theoretical subjects	15	15
	b) teachers of practical science of the profession	24	22
12	School dayrooms and semiboarding schools with the exception of special dayrooms	30	26

* (Liczba porzadkowa)/Numerical order?/

13	Boarding schools, dormitories, children's play-park, station dayrooms, school		
	youth (permanent) shelters	36	30
	schooling-upbringing centers		28
14	Guardianship and upbringing institutions:		
	a) children's homes	30	26
	-children's vacation homes	28	26
	-teaching activities in these homes	11	10
	- guardianship-upbringing institutions for children	30	26
	b) special institutions, health-care/ educational institutions, institutions for the vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, upbringing and special centers, correctional institutions, juvenile shelters, dayrooms of special schools, emergency shelters, family diagnostic-consultative centers	26	24
15	Educational-professional service bureaus, psychologists employed in educational-upbringing agencies	22	20
16	Young people's palaces, youth houses of culture, extraschool work centers, extraschool specializing institutions, interschool sports centers:		
	a) teachers conducting direct work with children and youth	22	18
	b) teachers-instructors in methodology offices	32	30
	c) teachers conducting other kinds of activities	36	32
17	Librarians in school and pedagogical libraries	30	30
18	The Central Institute for Pedagogical Artistic Training	30	30
19	School pedagogues	30	28
	including direct activities with students of a teaching-upbringing character	2-4	2-4
20	The Central Methodology Information Bureau for Education-Upbringing-pedagogical activities carried out directly with children	2-6	2-6
21	Centers for the training of cadres and centers for professional training	24	22

2) In addition to conducting didactic-upbringing activities for the number of hours specified in paragraph 1, the teacher is obliged:

a) within the framework of the basic salary to which he is entitled to perform services in conjunction with organizing the teaching-upbringing and guardianship process,

b) to conduct the extra activities assigned to him for pay, as discussed in article 21.

3) The implementation of the tasks outlined in paragraphs 1 and 2 may not exceed the weekly standard of worktime specified in universally binding labor legislation.

4) The teacher for whom the established plan of activities during certain periods of the school year has not exhausted the obligatory workload of teaching activities should teach for a correspondingly greater number of hours in other periods of the given school year. The work executed in accordance with the plan of activities so established is not performed in overti-

5) For directors and deputy director. , well as for teachers executing other directorial functions in school, the obligatory load of activities specified in paragraph 1 is reduced accordingly, depending on the size and type of school and its working conditions. The principles of dispensation and the education load discussed in the table are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers, and with reference to art schools, by the minister of culture and arts in an understanding with the minister of education and uprbringing.

6) The obligatory workload of teachers of schools not listed in paragraph 1, including teachers of correspondence schools and teachers teaching subjects with a varying hourly load, and the principles for calculating the number of hours of particular activities in correspondence education are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers and the minister of labor, wages and social affairs.

Article 30

1) The appropriate minister or the official authorized by him may reduce the workload of obligatory activities for a full-time teacher for a specified period or until his dismissal due to health, educational pursuits or self-improvement, the fulfillment of scholarly labors or work ordered by school authorities, or special working conditions in the teacher's school.

2) A reduced workload may not reduce salary or limit other rights of the teacher.

3) A teacher taking advantage of a reduced workload may not collect additional compensation for overload hours with the exclusion of the reduction discussed in article 29, paragraph 5.

Chapter 3

Night Work and Work on Off-Days

Article 31

1) The minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers will determine the schools, the position and the conditions under which the teacher may be obliged to implement a weekly obligatory workload of night teaching (upbringing) activities.

2) For night work, a teacher is entitled to a separate allowance specified in regulations on teachers' compensation.

3) A teacher is bound to a 5-day workweek.

4) In schools in session every day, the teacher has 2 successive days off at least once every 3 weeks; one day should be a Sunday.

5) For work on a holiday not falling on the weekly 2 day off, the teacher receives another day off from work; in special cases, instead of a day off, his compensation is doubled.

6) When needed by a school, the teacher may be obliged to execute other activities on days off from work. The teacher receives separate compensation for such work.

7) The minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers will determine the cases in the types of activities spoken in paragraph 6, the limits of the teacher's being encumbered by such activities and the principles of compensation for these activities.

Chapter 4

Additional Employment

Article 32

1) A teacher may undertake employment for pay beyond his obligatory activities, if it does not conflict with his duties and if he is granted prior permission by his employer in consultation with the school director.

2) The instances not requiring such permission are determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the appropriate ministers.

Section V

Awards and Distinctions

Chapter 1

Awards

Article 33

1) A plant awards fund is created for teachers.

2) The Council of Ministers determines the particulars for the creation and the utilization of the fund discussed in paragraph 1.

Article 34

1) An additional awards fund is created for teachers for their teaching-upbringing achievements. The amount of this fund is determined by the Council of Ministers.

2) The minister of education and upbringing determines the principles of distribution of the fund as well as the principles of making the awards discussed in paragraph 1.

Chapter 2

Distinctions and Service Titles

Article 35

1) In addition to other distinctions and orders, the following may be conferred upon a teacher:

a) the honorary title "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic";

b) "National Education Board Medal."

2) The title "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" will be conferred upon teachers who have most merited the title for the particular excellence of their achievements over many years of pedagogical service. The "National Education Board Medal" will be conferred upon persons for their special service to education and upbringing.

3) The honorary title "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" is conferred by the Council of State. The "National Education Board Medal" is conferred by the minister of education and upbringing at the recommendation of the appropriate minister.

4) The Council of State determines the particulars of conferring the title "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic," the procedure for making recommendations for the title, the pattern of the badge of the title, as well as the ceremony for conferring it and the manner in which it is to be worn. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers, upon the recommendation of the minister of education and upbringing made in an understanding with the interested ministers, determines the particulars for the awarding of the "National Education Board Medal," the procedure for making recommendations, the pattern of the medal, the ceremony for conferring it and the manner in which it is to be worn.

Article 36

1) For 20 years of pedagogical service, a teacher is awarded the Gold Cross of Merit.

2) For 30 years of distinguished pedagogical service, a teacher is awarded the Order of the Polonia Restituta, if he has not yet received such a State distinction or a higher state distinction.

Article 37

1) Teachers directing schools are entitled to the service title of school director.

2) The teachers discussed in article 1, paragraph 1, items 1-7 may attain the grades of professional specialization.

3) The particulars and the conditions, as well as the procedure for attaining the grades discussed in paragraph 2, will be determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the interested ministers.

Section VI

Social Rights and Other Rights

Chapter 1

The Social Fund

Article 38

1) A social fund is created for teachers in the amount of 5 percent of the planned annual personal wage fund.

2) The Council of Ministers determines the principles of the creation and manner of utilization of the social fund.

Chapter 2

Other Teachers' Rights

Article 39

1) Teachers employed within the environs of all villages and within the environs of towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants have the right to free housing at the place of work, not lower than the legal occupancy standards and the average standard of housing for the locale. The incorporation of a village into a town of up to 5,000 inhabitants or the inclusion of the village in the census of towns or the increase of the number of inhabitants in the town up to 5,000 does not deprive the teacher of that right to free housing.

2) The rights discussed in paragraph 1 should be implemented, first of all, by housing teachers in school buildings and buildings utilized by schools or in buildings administered by the local organs of the state administration.

3) In the event of a lack of housing in the buildings listed in paragraph 2, the local organs of the state administration at the basic level are obliged to conclude direct rental agreements for teachers with the proprietors of housing in the place of their work, and if this is not possible, in another location, from which it is possible to ride to work each day, with the commuting costs being reimbursed by this organ.

4) If the local agency of the state administration cannot supply the teacher with housing (par 3), it is obliged to pay him a suitable allowance.

5) The amount of the allowance discussed in paragraph 4, the principles for paying this allowance and for reimbursing travel costs discussed in paragraph 3 will be determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the minister of labor, wages and social affairs.

6) The rights specified in paragraph 1 for actively employed teachers of schools within the environs of all villages as well as within towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants are rights to which these teachers are likewise entitled after they have gone on pension or disability annuity, if immediately prior they worked in such areas for at least 5 years. The 5-year limit does not apply to teachers transferred exofficio to such areas.

7) Teachers employed within villages and towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants are awarded a separate allowance, the amount and principles of which will be determined by the minister of education and upbringing.

Article 40

The local agencies of the state administration will guarantee teachers employed within all villages the purchase of fuel according to the standards for the population, as well as the free delivery of such fuel to the teacher's residence.

Article 41

1) A teacher employed within a village has the right to receive a parcel of school property for his personal use and the use of his family.

2) The local agencies of the state administration are obliged to allot the prescribed area of land, as possible, if the alloted school property is insufficient for the implementation of the right specified in paragraph 1, but the area may not be more than 0.25 hectares.

Article 42

A teacher employed within villages and towns of up to 5,000 inhabitants is entitled to reimbursement for the costs of public transportation to a doctor or to the hospital, when the teacher must seek medical assistance beyond his place of residence.

Article 43

1) Independently of the right of the teacher and family members to medical care and medicine according to the regulations concerning social security, the organizational units of the education administration will earmark additional funds in annual budgets for health care for teachers using health care.

2) The minister of health and social welfare in an understanding with the minister of education and upbringing will determine the form of specialized medical assistance available to teachers.

Article 44

Teachers have the right to additional living space in the form of an extra room. The principles and procedure for the allotment of the additional space will be determined by the minister of education and upbringing in an understanding with the minister of administration, local economy and environmental protection.

Article 45

Housing in school buildings and in buildings utilized by schools may be occupied only by employees in active service in schools.

Article 46

The children of teachers, whose qualifications equal those of other children, are entitled to priority in acceptance to preschools, boarding schools, dormitories, university houses, postelementary schools and higher schools.

Article 47

The rights specified in articles 40-45 likewise belong to teachers after they have gone on pension or annuity, including the rights belonging to their children as specified in article 46.

Article 48

1) Teachers employed in schools for the first time immediately following their studies receive a one-time housekeeping allowance amounting to 2 months' basic pay.

2) The allowance discussed in paragraph 1 is subject to return if the teacher voluntarily quits or is fired through his own fault within the initial 3-year period. In warranted cases, the immediate supervisory organizational unit of the education administration may release the teacher in whole or in part from his obligation to return the allowance.

Article 49

A teacher in active service who goes on pension or on disability annuity and his spouse are entitled to train fares according to principles specified by the Council of Ministers.

Article 50

In conjunction with the fulfillment of his service duties, the teacher has the right to the protection granted to state employees. The organizational units of the education administration are obliged ex officio to defend the teacher when his established rights are violated.

Chapter 3

Teacher's Day

Article 51

On the anniversary of the National Education Board, 14 October, Teacher's Day will be celebrated as a holiday from work.

Section VII

Vacations

Article 52

1) School vacations are a time of rest/relaxation vacation for a teacher employed in a school whose work organization includes such school vacations.

2) The teacher spoken of in paragraph 1 may be obliged by the director to execute the following tasks during such school vacations:

--conduct examinations,

--execute tasks associated with the conclusion of the school year and preparations for the new school year.

The tasks may not occupy a teacher more than 7 days.

3) Teachers are obliged to participate in the self-improvement specified in article 13 of the law during school vacations and days off.

4) Teachers employed in schools that do not have school vacations are entitled to a rest/relaxation vacation of 8 weeks during a time established in the vacation plan.

Article 53

1) A teacher employed in a school with a school vacation earns his first vacation after the last day preceding the school vacation and earns a second and further vacations every first day of the next calendar year.

2) A teacher employed in a school listed in article 52, paragraph 4 earns his first vacation when a year of work has passed, and he earns a second and further vacations on every first day of the next calendar year.

3) A teacher employed in a school listed in article 52, paragraph 4 earns a partial vacation after 6 months of work, in proportion to the period worked.

Article 54

1) If a teacher does not take advantage of his rest/relaxation vacation wholly or partially during the school vacations due to an inability to work because of illness,

isolation in conjunction with a contagious disease, maternity leave or participation in military exercises, the teacher is entitled to a vacation during the school year to complete those 8 weeks.

2) If a teacher does not take advantage of the entitled rest/relaxation vacation, according to article 52, paragraphs 1 or 4, due to the termination or expiration of the work relationship, or appointment to basic or temporary military service, he is entitled to a monetary equivalent for the period for which he was not able to take his vacation, not exceeding 8 weeks, to the extent that the termination of the work relationship did not occur due to a loss of his right to a rest/relaxation vacation.

Article 55

During the rest/relaxation vacation, a teacher is entitled to a salary equal to what he would receive had he worked during that period. The changeable components of salary are calculated on the basis of the average compensation for the 10-month period preceding the month before the vacation.

Article 56

1) A teacher is given a paid vacation for recuperation for a period up to one year, if the organ of the social health service attests that the teacher's state of health requires such for undergoing prescribed medical care. However, if he has less than one year before acquiring his pension rights, the paid vacation for recuperation may not be granted for a period exceeding the end of the calendar month the teacher acquires his pension rights.

2) The procedure and action of agencies of the social health service in the matters discussed in paragraph 1 are determined by the minister of health and social welfare.

3) The vacation discussed in paragraph 1 is granted directly by the supervisory organizational unit of the education administration.

Article 57

1) A teacher may receive a paid or unpaid vacation for continued self-improvement for scholarly, artistic or educational purposes or for other important reasons.

2) The Council of Ministers determines the conditions warranting a paid or unpaid vacation, as well as the agencies authorized to decide these matters.

Article 58

1) The principles for granting maternity leaves and child-rearing leaves are specified in separate, universally binding regulations.

2) During maternity leave, the most recent full salary is paid and all other service rights specified in the law are preserved.

3) Should the work time of a woman nursing a child require more than 4 consecutive hours daily, she is entitled to use a 1-hour break added to her work time.

Article 59

1) A teacher who has applied for a transfer to the permanent residence of his spouse is granted an unpaid vacation by the organizational unit of the education administration if the application cannot be considered due to the impossibility of employing him as a teacher at that place.

2) The period of unpaid vacation discussed in paragraph 1 may not exceed 2 years. If the teacher has not returned to work during this time, the work relationship should be terminated the final day of that month when the 2-year period of unpaid vacation ends.

Article 60

The regulations of the law concerning duties and rights, with the exception of the rights specified in article 59, likewise apply to teachers employed in full-time work on the basis of a labor contract, except that for teachers employed for less than half-time, the regulations in articles 36, 39, 40-49, 56, 57 and 92-94 do not apply.

Section VIII

Service Responsibility

Article 61

1) Appointed teachers assume disciplinary responsibility for the violation of their service duties and for offenses against the dignity of the teaching profession.

2) For lesser offenses against services responsibilities, these disciplinary penalties are exacted:

a) a reprimand,

b) a reproof.

The principles and procedure for meting out these penalties are specified in separate, universally binding regulations of labor legislation.

Article 62

1) Disciplinary penalties meted out to teachers are:

a) a reprimand with a warning,

b) a reprimand with a transfer to another school without reimbursement of the relocation costs,

c) dismissal from work,

d) expulsion from the teaching profession.

2) A disciplinary commission metes out disciplinary penalties.

3) The administration of a disciplinary penalty specified in paragraph 1, item 4 is tantamount to prohibiting that person from educational service.

4) The administration of a disciplinary penalty specified in paragraph 1, item 3 is tantamount to prohibiting that person from educational service for a period of 3 years from the punishment.

5) A copy of the ruling together with its justification is included with the personal documents of the teachers.

Article 63

1) In disciplinary matters, teachers' cases are ruled upon in the first echelon:

a) by disciplinary commissions operating from the school superintendent's office of education and upbringing and from departments of provincial offices conducting schools--for the teachers of schools directly and indirectly subject to these school superintendent's offices and departments,

b) disciplinary commissions under the appropriate ministers--for the teachers of schools subject to these ministers and not subordinated to the local organs of the state administration.

2) The second echelon in disciplinary matters for teachers is disciplinary commissions for appeal under the appropriate ministers, appointed to examine appeals of the rulings of the disciplinary commissions listed in paragraph 1.

Article 64

Disciplinary commissions are independent in the area of disciplinary judicature.

Article 65

1) The organizational unit of the education administration through which the disciplinary commission was appointed will appoint a disciplinary spokesman for every disciplinary commission and a suitable number of deputies from the body of employees subject to the spokesman.

2) The disciplinary spokesman's duties are:

a) to conduct an explanatory proceeding in consequence of notifying the teacher of the violation of his responsibilities or his learning of the violation in another manner,

b) to present recommendations to the disciplinary commission concerning the initiation of disciplinary proceedings,

) to uphold the charge before the commission,

) to submit appeals against the rulings and decisions of the disciplinary ommission.

3) The disciplinary spokesman is bound by the recommendations of the organ that appointed him to this function.

Article 66

1) The disciplinary commission commences a disciplinary proceeding at the recommendation of the disciplinary spokesman.

2) The disciplinary commissions issue rulings after conducting a hearing and after listening to the disciplinary spokesman and the accused or his counsel.

Article 67

1) A disciplinary proceeding for an action subject to punishment in a penal proceeding, or in matters of malfeasance may be conducted at the same time as the penal proceeding. This proceeding may also be postponed until a legal ruling in the penal proceeding or in matters of malfeasance is issued.

2) A ruling issued in a penal proceeding or in a proceeding in matters of malfeasance may not preclude a disciplinary penalty.

Article 68

1) A disciplinary proceeding must commence within 6 months of the date that information about the action warranting a penalty was given, and within 3 years of the action. However, if the deed is a crime, this period may not be shorter than the period prescribed for the prosecution of this crime.

2) The termination of the work relationship after such an action does not prevent a disciplinary proceeding and a disciplinary penalty.

Article 69

1) The penalties stipulated in article 63, paragraph 1, items 1, 2 and 3 are subject to obliteration, and the copy of the ruling concerning the penalty that is attached to the personal documents of the teacher is destroyed 3 years after the teacher was handed his final ruling, if in this period he was not punished disciplinarily or judicially.

2) Decisions concerning the obliteration of the penalty are issued by the agency under which the disciplinary commission has been established.

Article 70

1) The appropriate minister, in a supervisory capacity, may order the revision of a legal ruling of the disciplinary commission if this ruling violated essential regulations of the law; a revision unfavorable to the interested party may be submitted only within 6 months from the validation of the ruling.

2) The appropriate minister, in ordering the revision of a legal ruling, instructs the appropriate disciplinary appeals commission to examine the revision, if the revision refers to the ruling of the disciplinary appeals commission, the composition of this commission is changed.

3) Rulings of the commission according to the procedure in paragraph 2 are final.

Article 71

1) The organizational unit of the education administration exercising direct supervision over a school may suspend a teacher from his service duties, if that teacher has had a penal proceeding initiated against him or if it has been recommended that a disciplinary proceeding be commenced, if, with regard to the seriousness and credibility of the charges, his removal from his school obligations is appropriate. In matters which are not urgent, the teacher may be suspended before the recommendation concerning the commencement of the disciplinary proceeding is made.

2) By force of law, the teacher remains suspended from his service obligations in the event of his temporary arrest or in the event that he is incarcerated for a penal proceeding.

3) The suspension of service should not last longer than 6 months, unless the teacher faces a penal proceeding, and this is the reason for suspension.

Article 72

1) The salary of a teacher during the period of suspension from the fulfillment of obligations may be limited. The salary of a teacher temporarily arrested is limited at most to half his salary, depending on the family situation of the employee, beginning the first day of the calendar month following the suspension.

2) During suspension from service obligations, the teacher is not entitled to an operational allowance or to compensation for overtime.

3) When a teacher is incarcerated, he is not entitled to a salary.

4) The regulations in paragraph 3 and article 71, paragraph 2 likewise apply to teachers employed on the basis of a labor contract.

5) If a disciplinary proceeding or a penal proceeding is discontinued for lack of evidence or if it concludes with a not-guilty verdict, the amount of the withheld teacher's salary should be returned, except as listed in paragraph 2.

Article 73

The Council of Ministers will determine by decree the particulars in the composition and the character of the disciplinary commissions for teachers, the principles and procedure for their appointment, the appointment of those announcing rulings, the appointment of disciplinary spokesmen and counsels and the course of disciplinary proceedings and the execution of disciplinary penalties and their obliteration.

Section IX

Initiating, Changing and Terminating the Work Relationship

Chapter 1

Initiating the Work Relationship

Article 74

1) A work relationship with a teacher is begun with his appointment or by concluding a labor contract.

2) A work relationship with a teacher is begun by his appointment, if:

--he possesses Polish citizenship,

--he possesses the necessary qualifications to assume the given position,

--directly before his appointment he executed full-time pedagogical work unbroken for at least 2 years and achieved positive results in this work,

--he is to be employed full-time.

3) For a teacher who:

--does not fulfill the conditions specified in paragraph 2 or

--is to be employed for a specified time if employment duration is precisely specified and results from the organization of teaching or if he is replacing an absent teacher, or

--is to be employed in less than full-time work,

the work relationship is begun by concluding a labor contract.

4) The regulations in paragraph 3 likewise apply to persons for whom work in a school is additional employment.

Article 75

1) The organizational unit of the education administration exercising direct supervision over the school in which the teacher is to be employed appoints or concludes labor contracts with teachers in an understanding with the director of this school or at his recommendation.

2) The appropriate minister may authorize another official to appoint or conclude contracts with teachers and he may specify the positions requiring the approval of the higher level official.

Article 76

1) The work relationship begun through appointment begins with the day specified in the appointing document and if this day is not specified, with the day on which the individual receives the document.

2) A labor contract begins on the day specified in the contract, and if this day is not specified, on the day the contract was concluded.

Article 77

The appointing document and the labor contract should specify in detail:

1) the position or the type and location of work,

2) the date on which work begins,

3) the amount of salary or the principles of the amount of salary.

Article 78

With his first appointment to a teaching position, the appointed person makes a pledge, as established by the appropriate minister.

Article 79

A newly employed teacher is obliged to be present for work on the date indicated in the appointing document or in the labor contract. If the newly employed teacher does not justify his failure to report for work within 6 days, the appointment or the labor contract is validated, unless special regulations deem otherwise.

Chapter 2

Changes in the Work Relationship

Article 80

1) The appointed teacher may be transferred at his own request or ex officio with his approval to another position in the same or in another school, in the same or in another location, to the same or another position.

2) When organizational changes cause the entire or partial liquidation of a school, making the continued employment of the teacher in a given school impossible in his current position, the appointed teacher may be transferred without his consent to another position in the given school or to another school in the same or another location within the boundaries of the given school superintendent's office of education and upbringing, to the same or another position.

3) The transfer of a teacher ex officio with his approval and according to the procedure specified in paragraph 2 to another location may occur, with the observance of the following strictures:

a) that in the new location of work the teacher be guaranteed housing suitable for his family situation, as well as a place of work for his spouse, if the spouse is a teacher,

b) that the teacher be awarded, in addition to reimbursement of the moving costs as specified in article 81, paragraph 1, a settlement benefit in the amount of 2 months' basic salary currently paid, with allowances.

4) Should a teacher petition an appeal on a prescribed date, the transfer may not occur until this appeal is resolved by the appropriate minister.

5) The regulations in paragraphs 1-4 also apply to the transfer of a teacher to a school in another ministry, and the regulation in paragraph 3 likewise applies to a teacher's transfer with his consent to work in organizational units of the education administration.

Article 81

1) In the event of a teacher's transfer, he is entitled to be reimbursed for the moving costs according to the separate regulations for state employees.

2) A teacher changing his residence because of a transfer should be released from his services duties for a reasonable period, considering his family conditions and the transportation situation accompanying the move.

3) The transfers discussed in article 80, paragraph 2 are executed, with the consent of the plant organization of the appropriate union, by the organizational unit of the education administration at the provincial level with reference to teachers in schools subordinated to the local organs of the state administration, and with reference to teachers in schools not subordinated to the local organs of the state administration, by the appropriate minister.

Article 82

1) A teacher may be obliged to work in another school in the same location in the same or another position in order to complete the obligatory teaching (upbringing) workload, for not more than half-time employment.

2) A teacher transferring to work in organizational units of the education administration or to work with trade unions associating teachers by choice is entitled to the rights issuing from articles 35, 36, 44, 46, 49, 92-94.

3) For teachers employed in chief (central) and local organizational units of the education administration in positions requiring teacher's qualifications, the respective regulations in articles 14, 17, 18, 33 and 91, paragraph 3 of the law apply.

Article 83

1) A teacher may be transferred in principle with the first day of the school year. Transfers during the school year may be executed only in specially warranted cases. Decisions concerning the transfers of teachers to other service locations or to other positions should be delivered before 1 June.

2) Decisions concerning the transfers on the basis of article 80, paragraph 2 should be delivered to the interested party 6 months before the transfer. A decision delivered after this date is legally invalid.

Chapter 3

Termination of the Work Relationship

Article 84

1) With an appointed teacher, a work relationship should be terminated:

a) upon the teacher's recommendation;

b) during temporary incapacity of the teacher caused by his illness, if the period of this illness exceeds 1 year; in specially warranted cases after a statement by a doctors' commission of improvement in the state of health and the possibility of return to work, the period of absence from work caused by the illness may be extended beyond 1 year, but not exceeding 2 years, combining the period of the illness and the recuperation leave;

c) for a ruling by a doctors' commission for disability and employment affairs attesting to the permanent incapacity of the teacher to work in full-time employment in the currently occupied position;

d) with the end of the school year in which the teacher reached retirement age, if his period of employment allows him a pension. If upon reaching retirement age the teacher has not earned a pension, the work relationship with him should not be terminated until he earns this right during a period of not exceeding 5 years, however, beyond retirement age. The organizational unit of the education administration authorized to make appointments may, with the teacher's consent, extend the period of employment in cases warranted by cadre needs.

e) if a teacher has failed to discharge his service responsibilities.

2) A recommendation concerning the termination of the work relationship should be made in writing by the person who appointed the teacher not later than 3 months before the school vacation. The termination of the work relationship with an appointed teacher upon his recommendation occurs 31 August.

In a school with classes during the whole calendar year, the work relationship may be terminated by the person who has appointed the teacher at any time with 3 months' notice.

3) Directing a teacher to be examined by a doctors' commission for disability and employment affairs may occur with the teacher's initiative or ex officio at any time by the appropriate official in accordance with article 82; the unjustifiable failure of the teacher directed ex officio to report to the examination authorizes the appropriate organizational unit of the education administration to terminate the work relationship.

4) The termination of the work relationship with a teacher because he failed to fulfill his service responsibilities occurs at the end of the school year, with 3-months' notice in writing to the teacher, after unsatisfactory work evaluations twice within a period of not less than 1 and not more than 1½ years, according to the procedure in article 83.

5) The work relationship may be terminated with the teacher according to an understanding of both sides as well.

Article 85

1) The organizational unit of the education administration exercising direct supervision over the school establishes an unsatisfactory evaluation on the basis of the opinion of the school director and his representative.

2) The organizational unit of the education administration is obliged to inform the teacher of an unsatisfactory evaluation of his work, substantiating it and warning that the next unsatisfactory evaluation will cause the termination of the work relationship.

3) If the unsatisfactory evaluation has not been established by the chief (central) unit organizational of the education administration, the teacher has the right to appeal within 14 days from being informed of the evaluation considered unjust, to the authority directly superior to the one making the evaluation.

4) If a teacher appeals a second unsatisfactory evaluation, the work relationship may not be terminated until this appeal is settled.

Article 86

1) A work relationship may be terminated with an appointed teacher in the event of:

a) the demolition or the transformation of the school or basic organizational changes in the school that make it impossible for the teacher to be employed in this same or another school, in this same or another location; in this case, work should be proposed according to his qualifications.

b) the teacher's failure to comply with an order for transfer according to the procedure in article 80, paragraph 2.

2) The termination of the work relationship for the reasons in paragraph 1, item 1 occurs with an appointed teacher with a 3 months' written notice stating the reasons for the termination of the work relationship and with the prior approval of the plant union organization of the appropriate trade union.

Article 87

A decision to terminate a work relationship on the basis of articles 84-86 is issued by the official authorized to make appointments in the manner specified in these articles.

Article 88

1) The work relationship of an appointed teacher is terminated by force of law in the event of:

a) the legal disciplinary punishment of a teacher by a disciplinary penalty of dismissal or expulsion,

b) the legal sentencing of the loss of public rights or the right to practice one's profession,

c) a statement that the appointment occurred on the basis of falsified or invalid documents,

d) his abandonment of the position by voluntary absence from work.

2) The termination of the work relationship in the cases specified in paragraph 1, items 1-4 is ascertained by the official authorized to employ the teacher.

Article 89

The regulation of article 114 of a law dated 23 January 1968, concerning the universal retirement benefit for employees and their families (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 3, item 6), applies accordingly to teachers.

Article 90

1) In matters concerning labor contracts with a teacher, the universally binding regulations of labor legislation, together with the considerations in paragraphs 2-4, apply accordingly.

2) A labor contract concluded with a teacher for an unspecified period may be terminated by the official authorized to conclude the contract, at the end of the school year, the teacher having been given 3 months' notice.

3) The regulations in paragraph 2, referring to the termination of labor contracts at the end of the school year, does not apply to teachers in schools with year-round teaching activities.

4) A labor contract concluded with a teacher may be terminated at any time and without notice in the event of the teacher's inability to work due to illness beyond 1 year.

Chapter 4

Severance Pay

Article 91

1) An appointed teacher with whom the work relationship is terminated for the reasons specified in article 84, paragraph 1, items 2 and 3, and article 86, paragraph 1, item 1 is awarded a one-time monetary severance benefit in the amount of 1 month's basic salary for active service at the most recent rate, for every full year of teaching service calculated according to the regulations based on article 21, not exceeding 6 months' basic salary.

2) An appointed teacher with whom the work relationship is terminated for reasons specified in article 59, paragraph 2, may be awarded a one-time severance benefit based on the principles specified in paragraph 1, not exceeding:

--3 months' basic salary, if the period of active teaching service did not exceed 10 years;

--6 months' basic salary, if the period of active teaching service exceeded 10 years.

3) An appointed teacher who is pensioned is awarded severance pay in the amount of 2 months' basic salary at the most recent rate in the school serving as the basic place of work.

Variant II, article 91

1) An appointed teacher with whom a work relationship is terminated for the reasons specified in article 81, paragraph 1, items 2 and 3, and article 88, paragraph 1, item 1 is awarded a one-time monetary severance benefit in the amount of 1 month's basic salary, at the most recent rate during his active service on the basis of article 21, not exceeding 6 months' basic salary. The awarding of severance pay for reasons specified in article 84, paragraph 1, item 2 may occur only once during the period of the teacher's employment.

2) An appointed teacher with whom the work relationship is terminated for reasons specified in article 59, paragraph 2 and for whom the appropriate organizational unit of the education administration has not proposed work meeting his qualifications is awarded a one-time severance benefit according to the principles... (and so forth as in variant I).

3) (Text as in variant I)

Section X

Retirement Benefit

Article 92

Teachers and their family members have the right to a retirement benefit specified in regulations concerning the universal retirement benefit for employees and their families, together with the considerations in article 94 of the present law and inclusion among employees in category I of employment.

Article 93

1) Teachers with category I employment of at least 30 years, having terminated the work relationship at their recommendation, may go on pension.

2) The basis for the amount of pension or annuity for a teacher is based on the general principles specified in regulations concerning the universal retirement benefit for employees and their families, with all awards attained for the professional achievements of the teacher added to this base.

3) The particulars of the base for the pension or disability annuity for teachers is determined by the minister of labor, wages and social affairs in an understanding with the minister of education and upbringing.

4) Disabled teachers in groups I or II, as well as disabled teachers in group III, whose disability arose from a work accident or an occupational disease may, after the termination of the work relationship upon their recommendation, go on pension if they have worked the required period.

Article 94

1) Teachers entitled to a pension or disability annuity are also entitled to a supplement amounting to 20 percent of these benefits if the person has taught in a school.

2) The supplement discussed in paragraph 1 is to be granted regardless of an allowance granted from teacher's holding state distinctions.

3) The regulation in paragraph 1 likewise applies to teachers who go on pension or disability annuity after the date, as well as to those who have gone on pension or disability annuity before this date.

4) The minister of labor, wages and social affairs determines, in an understanding with the minister of education and upbringing, by decree, the periods of work authorizing the supplements discussed in paragraph 1, as well as the particulars of the award and calculation of such supplements.

Article 95

The pensions and annuities of teachers are subject to continual recalculation, together with an increase in the salary of active teachers and the costs of upkeep.

Section XI

Cooperation with Trade Unions Associating Teachers

Article 96

1) The organizational units of the education administration cooperate in matters concerning teachers with trade unions associating teachers. This applies above all to:

--tasks in the name of improving working conditions;

--the improvement of social-living conditions of employees and their families;

--the utilization of the plant awards fund, the social fund, the housing fund and the health fund;

--ideological and professional improvement;

--changes in and the termination of the work relationship;

--vacation planning and use of vacations;

--the granting of distinctions and recognitions;

--the assignment of teaching hours and of other intraschool activities.

2) The particulars of the cooperation of the organizational units of the education administration with echelons of trade unions associating teachers will be determined by an understanding of the minister of education and upbringing with the chief authorities of these unions.

Section XII

Transitional and Closing Regulations

Article 97

The Council of Ministers is authorized to improve further the working conditions of teachers and to reduce the norms of work time specified in the law.

Article 98

1) Teachers who remain in teaching service or in organizational units of the education administration on the date of the law's implementation and who have attained, on the basis of the previous regulations, the scholarly and pedagogical qualifications to teach or conduct educational activities in schools of a specific type and level are considered qualified for the position of teacher or educator in these schools, even if they do not meet the conditions specified in article 9, paragraph 1.

2) For graduates of teaching studies who will complete work in these studies after the implementation of the law in the area of scholarly and pedagogical qualifications, the regulations of paragraph 1 apply accordingly.

Article 99

For matters not standardized by regulations of the present law and concerning appointed teachers, the appropriate, universally binding regulations of labor legislation apply.

Article 100

1) Those appointed to permanent position on the basis of previous regulations are considered teachers appointed according to the present law.

2) Teachers employed on the date of the present law's implementation but not notified of dismissal are considered teachers appointed under the present law, if they fulfill the conditions specified in article 74, paragraph 2.

3) Teachers employed on the date of implementation of the present law on the basis of:

--being notified of dismissal and not fulfilling the conditions specified in paragraph 2,

--being appointed for a specified time,

--a labor contract,

are considered employed on the basis of a labor contract under the present law.

Article 101

The rights issuing from article 82, paragraphs 2 and 3 are rights to which teachers who have transferred to organizational units of the education administration of trade unions associating teachers before the date of the law's implementation are likewise entitled.

Article 102

1) The regulations of the law do not apply to soldiers in active military service:

a) occupying the position of teacher in schools and education-upbringing institutions,

b) selected for tasks outside the military in positions listed in article 1.

2) Soldiers listed in paragraph 1 may be granted the honorary title of "Merited Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" and the "National Education Board Medal," and the children of these soldiers are entitled to the rights specified in article 46.

Article 103

The minister of education and upbringing, by agreement with the chairman of the Council of Ministers, may extend the regulations of the present law or certain of its provisions to teachers of non-state schools and other non-state education-upbringing institutions, as well as teachers in training plants and institutions.

Article 104

Until the issuance of the executory regulations stipulated in the present law, the previous regulations with the changes issuing from the law are binding.

Article 105

Teachers who, on the basis of working conditions or their qualifications, are entitled, according to special regulations, to specific rights or sector benefits, retain these rights or benefits in the binding area on the date of the law's implementation.

Article 106

In article 46 of the law dated 23 January 1968, concerning the universal retirement benefit for employees and their families (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 3, item 6):

1) in paragraph 2, point 1 is specified,

2) paragraph 4 is added with the text:

"4) The matter of additions to pensions and annuities by virtue of teaching is regulated by the regulations of the law, The Charter of the Rights and Duties of the Teacher."

Article 107

In the law dated 15 July 1961, concerning the development of the system of education and upbringing (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 32, item 160, and, dated 1971, No 12, item 115), the following changes are introduced:

1) articles 31-33 are deleted,

2) article 34 becomes:

"The qualifications of teachers and educators, their rights and duties, the principles of education and improvement and the tasks and procedure for appointing teachers and educators to and dismissing them from directorial positions in the school, in educational, upbringing and guardianship-upbringing institutions, are specified in regulations of the law, The Teacher's Charter."

3) in article 35, paragraph 2, the following sentence is added:

"The particular scope of the duties and rights of teachers exercising pedagogical supervision employed in organizational units of the education administration are specified in the regulations of the law, The Teacher's Charter."

Article 108

In article 65 of the law dated 25 January 1958, concerning people's councils (DZIENNIK USTAW, dated 1963, no 29, item 172), paragraph 1(a) is added:

"1) a) The procedure for appointing and dismissing school superintendents and deputy school superintendents, inspectors of education and upbringing and their deputies and gmina directors and deputy directors of schools is specified in regulations of the law, The Teacher's Charter."

Article 109

The following lose force:

1) the law dated 27 April 1972, The Charter of the Rights and Duties of the Teacher (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 16, item 114):

2) other regulations concerning matters regulated by the present law.

Article 110

The law comes into force on the date....

FROM THE EDITOR: Opinions concerning the ministry draft of the teacher's charter as well as remarks and proposals for changes should be directed to the Ministry of Education (Avenue of the First Polish Army 25 00-918 Warsaw, with the notation on the envelope: Minister's Office) or to the Main Board of the ZNP--Education, Legal-Social Department, Spasowski St., No. 6/8, 00-389 Warsaw.

Reaction of NSZZ Solidarity to Charter

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 31 May 81 p 3

[Article by Bronislaw Sarzynski, deputy chairman, National Council of the Education and Upbringing Section of NSZZ Solidarity]

[Text] In the previous issue of GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI we published the ministry's draft of the teacher's charter. We likewise inserted editorial commentaries, presenting the reasons recommending this document, which would regulate the most important and most basic matters and problems of the teacher's profession in the form of a law. We likewise solicited the opinions of all those interested--i.e., all teachers--on this subject. In subsequent issues we will publish these readers' opinions, which are flooding our editorial staff. Many opinions are expressed in the form of official documents, resolutions and proposals of entire pedagogical teams and plant councils.

We likewise heard the position of Col Bronislaw Sarzynski, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Education and Upbringing Section of NSZZ Solidarity, which we are publishing in full.

The most favorable solution offered in the alternative legal documents for the current development stage of the socioeconomic situation is a basic concern for NSZZ Solidarity. This question touches the very idea of professional-social solidarity under conditions of total democracy and egalitarianism of all citizens according to the obligatory law of the state. The Charter is a normative document, which affords privileges to a specific socioprofessional group from among the rest of society. This is, of course, at odds with the fundamental assumption of the Solidarity movement. The differentiation of the privileges of professional groups creates a source of antagonism in society. Security such privileges for some professional group is, under conditions of a true democracy, ineffective, and even demeans its prestige in practice.

If the current Solidarity movement continues in the direction of limiting the role of the state as the organizer of social and economic life in order to increase the role of self-governing organizations, societies or individual production initiatives, the means of production of crucial subsectors of the national economy will still be in the hands of institutions with a higher level of socialization. Consequently, there is no reason for the state to provide special protection for some socioprofessional group.

In states characterized by the preponderance of private property, the state's granting of security to certain professional groups may be justified, but only for professions that are not very attractive but socially indispensable.

The granting of privileges to teachers by force of the law is senseless, and even harmful for this profession. It is not difficult to see the low esteem in which the teacher's profession is held today among other professions and how much value the teacher's privileges guaranteed in the charter have on paper.

No official government document can determine the prestige of a profession and its social esteem in an intellectually developed society. It can only define the importance of the field in which this profession works and the manner in which it executes its tasks. If the Sejm, by force of law, wishes to make possible for teachers the more effective fulfillment of their profession in the field of the teaching and the upbringing of the younger generation, it should do this by increasing the importance of education in the program of national development. Increasing the importance of education should be effected through the development of a good system of national education and by priority to total investment in it. Adequate working conditions and fair pay should not be considered privileges. Similarly, a series of other social benefits issuing from one's employment has already been long guaranteed in sufficient amount, according to universally binding labor law. Those aspects of questions regarding the work relationship are more profitably regulated by collective bargaining, since changing working conditions are accompanied by a changed market-monetary situation.

A law, having a permanent nature, always keeps the teacher in last place for compensation increases. Keeping the teacher in the so-called budgetary pot makes this professional group independent of the functioning of the entire national economy and of the operation of the state administration. Consequently, the guarantee of the education administration's using the collective system with regard to employees, as the signitaries of this system, should be a Sejm law stabilizing the extreme importance of national education in the program for the socioeconomic development of the country.

A Sejm law concerning the system of national education, including the goals and directions of the development of institutionalized education, should be a point of reference for the collective system, including the possibility of the flexible adaptation of requirements to changing conditions of life and work.

Thus, the answer to the question "a charter or a collective system" is obvious. A law, a charter, not for the teacher, but for national education, is needed. On the other hand, work relations between the employee and the employer should be regulated through a reliable collective system based on this law.

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TREATMENT OF ECONOMIC ISSUES BY RADIO, TV REVIEWED

Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian Sep 81 pp 27-30

[Roundtable discussion with Sorin Pamfil, chief editor of the economic broadcasts staff, Stela Cristea, deputy chief editor, Ionel Cristea, secretary responsible for the editorial staff, and Nicolae Culcea, Ciprian Enache and Gheorghe Verman, broadcasters, chaired by Cristina Dumitrescu; date and place not specified: "A Party Commitment in the Treatment of Economic Problems"]

[Text] For the activities of newspaper reporters, the written press and radio-television throughout the country, the speech delivered by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the festive meeting dedicated to the celebration of the semi-centennial of SCINTEIA and Romanian Press Day constitutes a reference point of unequaled reverberation, a fundamental document with broad possibilities for the future. The work of reporters, carefully supported and guided by the party, today benefits from a broad document dealing exclusively with this work and a coherent system of criteria and guidelines.

Each of the problems presented in this speech naturally becomes a subject for serious thought for Romanian reporters; each idea, each criticism, each directive naturally becomes a theme for discussion for our magazine - the echo of the opinion of newspaper reporters.

In this issue, we have proposed to have a discussion with members of the economic editorial staff working in television, a staff with special tasks in creating a progressive, responsible attitude regarding work and the major problems of developing socialism in our country. We wanted to have a working dialogue and a practical analysis of the means and methods used by the economic staff of this important media organ in order to achieve one of the essential objectives of its activities - so that "each worker will well understand," as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech, "that only to the degree of development of the national economy and of the more powerful growth of industry and agriculture can we create conditions for the general development of the country, as well as the continued improvement of the people's material and spiritual well-being."

An Active, Daily Involvement in the Country's Economic Affairs

Pamfil: If up until several years ago the activities of our staff were similar to those of a specialized weekly magazine, today we are a kind of daily. I think that currently our broadcasts have a utilitarian, organizational and mobilizing nature. This is, in fact, the sense of social demands - an active, daily involvement in the country's economic affairs. In this regard, an especially clear description is contained in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech delivered in celebrating SCINTEIA, which points out that "the press and radio-television must reflect the great achievements made by the workers. It must popularize and spread everything that is good and positive in all fields! At the same time, it must criticize fully decisively shortcomings, shortfalls, negative affairs and any expression of a lack of responsibility regarding socialist property, defending with revolutionary intransigence the general interests of the workers and socialist construction in Romania!"

We consult on a daily basis with the responsible authorities in the economy and the workers in different sectors of activity in order to seek solutions and ways to improve our activities and to have progress in one field or another. We seek to stimulate responsibility, to mobilize people and to favor the best possible cooperation between all the parties that contribute to the achieve of a certain action.

I think, therefore, right from the beginning of our discussion we must define this organizational, mobilizing role that we wish to confer upon our broadcasts.

Enache: Our daily presence on the station placed the economic staff in a new situation and I must admit that in the beginning I was sufficiently concerned. The staff retained the same number of reporters and, generally, the same technical-organizational potential, but, with a collective and individual effort, I think we have succeeded in meeting the challenge. We must note that the redesign of our job, which at the beginning worried us, lead us to produce certain programs that were closer in nature to the concerns that the television viewers expected from us - aspects more directly related to life and the daily problems of work. Television viewers want to feel involved in our programs, which is natural, and not for them to just be a simple audience. I think that in this manner we also succeeded in bringing us closer to the television viewers and contributing to the broad process of educating them from an economic point of view. We are involved, and we want this most of all, in those things that interest them and we are dealing with the problems of production and life that they encounter on a daily basis.

We encounter especially interesting emphasis in connec ion with this idea of maximum significance in the speech delivered by the secretary general of the party on the semi-centennial anniversary of SCINTEIA. In this reference document for reporting activities, it notes: "Beginning with the fact that we are building

socialism and communism with the people and for the people and only to the degree in which the workers and all the people work in close unity under the leadership of our communist party can we ensure the victory of socialism and communism." In this idea and by implication, I think that it will be necessary for our broadcasts to pursue more carefully than at the present the connections and the rich and complex ramifications of economic problems.

The People Trust Our Broadcasts

Pamfil: Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is also guiding us in a critical examination of our activities. That is why I feel the need to point out that our predilection for the major problems of industry and agriculture, although justified, sometimes work against the presence in our broadcasts of the third sector: trade, services and the production of consumer goods. All of these also have a sphere of interest for the workers and I believe that a more systematic approach on our part will be absolutely necessary.

Ionel Cristea: Perfectly true. And this is even more so since while traveling through the country I noted that the people regard us with great trust and place great hopes in what we film. It sometimes comes to the point where they have the belief that television will resolve their problems and not those directly involved.

[Question] Even if the solution is not strictly in the realm of television, is a broadcast not in the position of stimulating the parties or persons involved?

Ionel Cristea: Most of the times, yes.

Pamfil: Any program provokes reactions on the part of the television viewers - evaluations, counterpoints, thanks or displeasure, and suggestions for future programs. Despite the fact that economic programs are not shows that people watch as entertainment and that their scheduling during the evening hours when people are relaxing, requiring the citizens to again think about the problems they just left at work, despite these handicaps, we have a sufficiently broad audience of viewers. The agricultural program, for example, is the main program of political interest for numerous management personnel in the economy. We get correspondence from the highest levels of responsibilities in the counties and, furthermore, from those persons with the most modest jobs. The editor of the agricultural program has become a well-known person in all the counties and I think that this is proof of the impact that our broadcasts have upon the awareness of the televisions viewers. This fact pleases us and, at the same time, you realize just how seriously involved we are.

On the other hand, it is difficult for you to find a means of programming that will correspond to the level of all potential television viewers and to a public that is heteregeneous through its work. Sincerely speaking, the audience for our programs has decreased, if we ask the citizen on the street, but it has increased certainly among the ranks of those persons directly involved in the carrying out of economic phenomena. The decision-making authorities more carefully watch the economic programs, and this is, I think, a gain in the efficieny of our reporting efforts

Ionel Cristea: The audience for our broadcasts is, according to the results obtained by the Office of Radio-Television Ratings, 25 to 30 percent, which, compared to the audience on the worldwide level for economic programs, is satisfactory. I think that our efforts should be directed towards covering certain broader, more diversified areas of concern.

We Are, We Try Hard to Be, a National Office for the Exchange of Experiences

Stela Cristea: Even if we lost some television viewers who are not involved directly in the carrying out of economic affairs, through our daily broadcasts, which we believe are now sufficiently polished to meet demands under good conditions, we have achieved a very important thing. We have become a type of national office for the exchange of experiences in all the fields that today concern the workers.

[Question] You referred to one of the priority tasks of the media: an exchange of experiences. Would you like to dwell some more on several examples?

Stela Cristea: The exchange of experiences favored by television refers to all important problems of an especially current nature: the recovery and recycling of materials, the use of nonconventional sources of energy, the new quality, investment policies, the reduction of imports and so forth. After each program, we receive telephone calls from enterprises that are interested in the details of a procedure, a technology or a system of work that we have presented on the air. In organizing an exchange of experiences, we are responding, certainly, to one of the most important tasks of the media and the economic programs, a task clearly expressed in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech.

Pamfil: In the sphere of the economist, all the subjects are and must be of major interest. It is very important, however, for us to know how to find the means of attracting the attention of the public and of suggestively emphasizing an essential truth - the direct involvement of each citizen in the carrying out of economic phenomena. "The Energy File" was a program dedicated to a major problem and through it we were able to make contact with a great many television viewers. We were truly bombarded with letters and there nearly was confusion between our staff and an institute that was to supply the designs for a biogas installation, for example.

This was a confusion that we encouraged, however, satisfied with the trust that we enjoyed, so that in the end the writer who was responsible for the program obtained these designs, reproduced them at this own expense and sent them out through the mail to the people interested.

Stela Cristea: In addition to the utilitarian aspects that Sorin Pamfil was talking about, the educational facet in our programs is especially pronounced. We are not carrying out economic education programs in a declared manner, but the subjects

and the means of presenting the problems represent efficient ways of educating the workers in the enterprises. We had, for example, a series on problems in foreign trade in which we discussed the manner in which the provisions of law are understood and respected in this field. The examples provided by the experiences of the different work collectives have proven much more instructive than an eventual theoretical presentation on the problem.

Pamfil: The series mentioned, produced at the proposal of and with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, succeeded in resolving many problems and some ideas and principles that had been insufficiently or incorrectly understood, and also provided specific solutions for overcoming certain difficulties of a practical nature in applying the law.

Ionel Cristea: In the case of the series mentioned, the educational purpose is very clear, it is explicit, but this content practically exists in each of our programs. A subject that is dealt with at the level of an enterprise is always (it can be no other way) placed in the context of the national economy. The examples and data that we provide are selected so as to always have an illustrational role. Regardless of the exact subject of a program, the substantive content is the explanation of the party's economic policy, with references to one field or another of activity. This just direction, which we appreciate empirically, is clearly seen in the context of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech. That is why we will seek to improve it constantly as a method of work for the purpose of increasing the propagandistic power and educational force of our programs.

The Mobilization of the Workers in the Achievement of the Tasks of the Economy is not Possible Without a Good Understanding of the Economic Laws

Culcea: Speaking of the education of the television viewers, I think that there is room to note that we achieved an educational plus through these daily programs. Professionally, from a point of view of the cohesion of the collective, the change in the structure of our activities was especially useful for us. In the programs and in our work the necessary symbiosis was produced between the concerns in the industrial or agricultural fields, regarded as inseparable facets of the same great process.

We spoke about economic education and the mobilization of forces. Considering things in the light of the ideas contained in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, I think that these two objectives which we are pursuing can only be conceived in close relation. We cannot speak of a real mobilization and an efficiency in the case of the workers or a collective where there is no understanding of the many laws of economic development of the country and the exact significance and consequences of each action. Sometimes, we have immediate proof of the educational effects of our broadcasts. The better use of natural flora, for example, an important resource in our country that is currently neglected although it would

provide significant benefits with low investments, is a theme that we have suggested and we have begun to present it in our agricultural programs. And, we were pleased to find, right from the beginning, a very good reaction on the part of the television viewers.

Stela Cristea: I think that it is important, especially for television, for us to carry out education by demonstrating and richly and convincingly arguing, not just be stating. There is a clear growth in the level of the public's understanding today, compared to several years ago. Today, workers and peasants have an economic cultural environment and we have a much more receptive and more informed public. On the other hand, I think that in our staff and in the professional training of the reporters there have been noticeable improvements. We will have to think more about using these "goods" that we have acquired. This is, in my opinion, an indispensible condition for progress and for avoiding routine.

Verman: I think that the ever greater involvement of our programs in the country's economic affairs also have a direct effect upon increasing the level of responsibility for each of us. And, perhaps precisely because of these increased tasks and responsibilities it will be necessary to have a better correlation of our activities with our colleagues in the written media. We have different means of expression and different opportunities and audiences, and it would be well for us to avoid inefficient duplication, in favor of having actions for collaboration. We have the advantage of the timeliness of information and of transmitting events "on-time," even to the minute, while the written media can be more thorough and more methodically analyze and not just reissue the next day that information which we presented to the public. It is a correlation that must be considered to the degree in which we judge the overall use with a maximum of efficiency and in specific means of the real forces available to the means of mass communication. The public would be better informed and better served.

In what we have achieved I believe what is important is the fact that we are trying harder with each broadcast to change something, to get involved and not just to relate information. Perhaps our programs are not always "pretty" or perfect from a stylistic point of view, and perhaps they do not respond to the tastes of certain more exigent viewers, but what interests us above all is to permanently pursue the pulse of life. Because, as was also stressed in the party secretary general's recent speech "all our activities must become the loyal exponent of the concerns of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all the workers."

This is a fundamental argument for getting us to be more and more interested in being understood and for finding the words and the pictures that are accessible to everyone. We still have much to do with regards to the unified production of programs, for example, but the truth is that the amount of work is very great for our group and we are permanently fighting the clock.

Pamfil: The pressure of the clock is an explanation, but not an excuse! Such are things when because of haste we make concessions ourselves in the journalistic quality of the programs and we are not always as prompt as we should be. These are, certainly, difficulties that we know well, those of us behind the scenes in these activities, but sometimes the effects become visible. Being aware of this, we are determined to do things to find solutions for overcoming this impasse.

Another problem that we must be permanently concerned about is the rigour and the mathematical order in the production of broadcasts and the flow of empty words, as well as bland pictures, that say nothing. We still say "the view takes the words out of our mouth" or "let us describe" and these are things that should be eliminated. We hope, however, that the steps that we are taking forward will be greater and more important than those that we take backward or that we take in place.

The thoughts expressed at this roundtable certainly do not represent a listing of all the problems or a complete set of ideas, but merely a succinct noting of the principal directions for action proposed by the staff. We believe, however, that the dialogue carried out by the reporters on the economic television staff showed the concerns and the efforts of this group for a continuing growth of the quality of their work and the firm decision to do everything to carry out the responsibilities outlined for the written media and radio-television by the party and by its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

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MATERIAL ON TRANSYLVANIA IN CLUJ-NAPOCA YEARBOOK

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Aug 81 pp 1587-1592

[Review by Radu-Dan Vlad of the "Yearbook of the Cluj-Napoca Institute of History and Archeology," Vol XXI (1978), 548 pages]

[Text] Now in its 71st year of publication, the "Yearbook of the Cluj-Napoca Institute of History and Archeology" has won well-merited renown among technical publications both because of the worth of its contributors and its broad coverage of all periods of Romanian history and because of the wealth of information and the profound ideas it offers its readers. We must also note the generosity with which it gives its editorial space to the young researchers, thereby helping them to assert and fulfill themselves professionally. With the same consideration the editors offer their good offices to all those who, even if they are not directly engaged in research, show sound knowledge and interest in resolving some too little investigated or even unknown questions, especially in regard to local history. And finally we also wish to point out the particular care taken in the Cluj-Napoca publication to publish some unpublished documents in both Romanian and foreign archives.

The Yearbook begins with two groups of articles in honor of the two great anniversaries in Romania's history that were celebrated in 1978, namely the 60th anniversary of the great and glorious unification at Alba Iulia and the 130th anniversary of the 1848 revolution, groups in modest homage to those who by their thoughts, by their deeds and especially by their heroism, often carried to the point of self-sacrifice, fulfilled the ancient dream of this people of martyrs, a dream that might seem modest to many, that of living in freedom in the land of their ancestors.

In opening the series of anniversary articles, Academician Stefan Pascu denotes the high scientific tone of this volume in "The Importance and Significance of the Grand National Assembly at Alba Iulia and the Accomplishment of Unification" (pp 7-30). With his well-known clarity and conciseness, reinforced by his gift for describing the famous deeds of the people, the author points out from the very start the plebiscitary nature of the decision at Alba Iulia, evidenced not so much by the strength and resolve (not to be overlooked either) of the 100,000 and more voices that unanimously confirmed, in the first capital of all the Romanians, the ardent desire of their forebears expressed 70 years before on the Field of Freedom in Blaj ("We want to be united with Romania!"), as by the similar demonstrations in all the cities and villages of Transylvania. By presenting the reactions in the press of the time throughout Greater Romania, Academician Stefan Pascu brings out the fact that all

Romanians everywhere realized the importance of the act of 1 December 1918 at the time. The author concludes that all told, over 80 percent of the population opted for unconditional unification of Transylvania with Romania, quite freely and without any pressure or influence of any kind whatever from anyone. The distinguished historian goes on to tell us of the "Odyssey" of the Romanian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference which, after some delays, finally had to recognize an act (the Great Unification) de jure that had long since become a reality by the will of the broad masses of Romanians, Saxons, Swabians, Jews, Slovaks, Ruthenians and a large part of the Szekler and Magyar population. Upon analyzing the events that ultimately led to the happy decision at Alba Iulia, Academician Stefan Pascu concludes that the Great Unification was no act of vengeance "but one of historical justice that accomplished its mission of righting wrongs, fulfilling its objective laws, and overcoming the obstacles that opposed the process of logical development."

The other article in honor of the Great Unification, "Consequences of the Unification of Transylvania with Romania" (pp 31-50) by I. Cicala, stresses the point that the act of 1 December 1918 "further unleashed the energies and creative power of Romanian society" as a factor for progress both in agriculture (It brought about the radical agrarian reform that dealt the big landowners a powerful blow by reducing their holdings from 40.23 to 10.44 percent of the land) and industry and on the cultural level (The national minorities were granted the broadest freedoms).

And finally, Gh. Iancu concluded the cycle of these anniversary articles with "Considerations on the Role and Position of the Directing Council in the First Years After Unification" (pp 51-56), wherein he describes the activity of that high authority from its founding on 2 December 1918 to its dissolution on 10 April 1920, during which time it governed several activities in Transylvania that were not yet directly under the authority of the Romanian government. On the basis of a careful scientific analysis the author concludes that the Directing Council made noteworthy progress in the economic, social and political fields and especially in administration, as it consistently pursued and accomplished a reduction and gradual and elimination of regional differences.

The following four articles are dedicated to the other great event of historical importance to the Romanian people, the 130th anniversary of the 1848 revolution. In his article "Ioachim Bacila in the Revolution of 1848-1849" (pp 67-100), I. Plesa uses a number of unpublished sources in the Alba Iulia Batyaneum Documentary Library, the Alba Branch of the State Archives, the Alba Iulia Museum of History and the Hunedoara-Deva Branch of the State Archives as well as extensive documentation (special maps, studies and articles, etc.) to present a less-known figure of the revolution in Transylvania. The author cites and scrupulously interprets a number of unpublished documents concerning the course of the revolutionary events that took place in Alba Iulia in 1848-1849 and the circumstances and events that had far-reaching implications for the whole revolutionary process in Transylvania and in which the priest Ioachim Bacila (former tribune, senator on the municipal council, commissar of the Romanian National Committee, vice prefect, requisitions commissar, military commander, etc. played a leading part.

In his article "Satu Mare Scholar Moise Sora Novac and the 1848 Revolution" (pp 101-106), based on some unpublished materials (the correspondence of Moise Sora Novac, whom GAZETA TRANSILVANIEI called "one of the most national Romanians we have in Hungary"), Doru Radosav gives us some new data on the 1848 Revolution in Satu Mare County and especially on the odious repressive actions organized by the Hungarian nobles against the villagers' very justified dissatisfaction.

In "An Unknown Manifesto Concerning the 1848 Revolution in Moldavia" (pp 107-112), Mircea Popa presents the manifesto entitled "Moldavia to Its Sons" in the archive of the Institute of Linguistics and Literary History in Cluj-Napoca, a document that contributes new particulars on the tasks, long-range aims and especially the extent of the Moldavian revolution which, it appears, was much greater than hitherto believed.

And finally Hilde Muresan in her article "A Revolutionary German-Language Daily published in Wallachia in 1848" (pp 113-119) presents in extenso the seven numbers that were kept in the collection of the daily ROUMANIA, which was published in Bucharest beginning on 18/30 June June 1848. The author of the article believes this daily was intended "not so much to interest the German-Austrian colony in Bucharest but as propaganda for the cause of the Romanian revolution in Austria and Germany."

The next group of articles in the Yearbook, under the heading "Studies and Articles," begins with Mircea Rusu's article "Turkish, Slavic and Indigenous Populations in the Carpatho-Danubian Region in the Sixth to the Ninth Centuries" (pp 121-131). On the basis of extensive documentation, the author comes to the fully supported conclusion that "The cultural synthesis achieved in the course of the sixth to the ninth centuries throughout the Carpatho-Danubian region faithfully reflects the evolutionary stages of the symbiosis of the various populations, which were ethnically and culturally heterogeneous but finally attained a material cultural characteristic of this area wherein the ethnic differences could no longer be distinguished with any certainty." But as the author quite rightly points out, the linguistic situation developed quite differently. For example, the various populations and especially those living in large and compact groups in various areas were able to assimilate the Avars gradually but steadily, although the Avars were the dominant force politically and militarily. The author makes equally logical statements about the 10th to the 11th centuries, when the Hungarians succeeded in subjugating the first state units (Salarus, Glad, Menumorat and Gelu), imposing a new political-military rule on the indigenous populations (Romanians, Slavs, Szeklers etc.), but the latter were to go on preserving their characteristic traits (ethnic, cultural and liguistic) until today.

Another problem of medieval history is treated in Ion Bordea's and Volker Wollman's study "Transportation and Marketing of Salt in Transylvania and Maramures in the 18th Century" (pp 135-171), based on very solid and largely unpublished documentation and accompanied by many highly interesting map reproductions and statistical tables. After carefully analyzing all the data and information obtained, the authors draw the conclusion that both the population growth and the increasing numbers of livestock or constant expansion of the areas of sales regularly provided an assured market for increasing quantities of salt, exploited by new and much more productive methods, and all this kept increasing the states's revenues.

Nicolae Bocsan's article "Beginnings of the Romanian National Movement in the Banat. Paul Iorgovici's Activity" (pp 173-188) starts with an analysis of Paul Iorgovici's work "Notes on the Romanian Language," which demonstrated the Roman origin of the Romanian people and the Latin origin of their language. The second part of the article describes Paul Iorgovici's laborious efforts for the noble purpose of obtaining positions for Romanians as district or local school directors and as bishops of dioceses inhabited by Romanian majorities, which problems dominated the national movement in the Banat from its inception to the third decade of the 19th century. The author points out in conclusion that "The start of the national movement in the Banat and the western regions was in immediate proximity to the Transylvanian Supplex movement, illustrating the simultaneous nature of the process of national assertion of all Romanians in the Habsburg empire regardless of their religious affiliation."

The following articles concern the modern period of Romanian history, such as Simion Retegan's interesting study "Economic Changes in the Romanian Village in Transylvania in the Middle of the 19th Century (1848-1867)" (pp 190-208), dealing with the consequences of the abolition of serfdom in 1848 with its far-reaching socioeconomic effects in Transylvania. The author considers the most important one to be "the change made in the traditional organization of the agricultural area by the increased proportion of arable land." This, along with the transition from alternating cultivation to continuous agriculture, amalgamation of village boundaries and segregation of forests and pastures, expedited economic exchanges and made markets more accessible to peasant farms. On the basis of some interesting and significant unpublished archival documents, the author describes the penetration of capitalism to the villages, the start of the first trade companies in the villages, the development of the village artisans, and the appearance of the so-called "industrial village." And finally Simion Retegan makes an extensive and sound analysis of the profound changes made on the social level (increasingly pronounced differentiation of the peasantry), the cultural level (considerably increased number of schools), and the national level (It is significant that in the two decades of liberal government the vast majority of the Romanian communes and even counties [comitate] had Romanian notaries).

Liviu Botezan and Nicolae Cordos publish the first part of a longer study entitled "Attempts to Revitalize the Activity of the PNR [Romanian National Party] in 1899 (I)" (pp 209-231), based on extensive documentation (archives, press and subject papers and articles). It describes the efforts of the Romanians in Transylvania and the Banat to revitalize the activity of the PNR, beginning with the preparations made to convene the internal conference at Sibiu on 14 June 1899 and going on to the discussions on that occasion. After an extensive review of the positions of the four important factions within the PNR (known as moderates, gazettists, old tribunists and new tribunists), the authors conclude that it was only the frequently acerbious tone of the debates (on reorganizing the party and whether to continue the passivist tactics or replace them with the new activism) that obstructed the restoration of discipline in the PNR in 1899, while this internal conference afforded an opportunity to express some bold ideas as to the necessity of adopting the political tactics of the new activism, which was to gain ground in the first years of the 20th century.

On the basis of extensive and largely unpublished documentation, Ludovic Bathory gives us an interesting study of the "Role of the Coal Industry in the Romanian National Economy (1919-1921)" (pp 233, 252). The author demonstrates on the basis of some detailed statistical tables that the unification of the Romanian national state afforded the coal industry much better conditions for development than the situation before the war did because the market for coal was considerably expanded.

The next two articles on modern history conclude this series and are unfortunately much more modest, clashing disagreeably with the serious tone of this publication. Ion Bratu and Ioan Popovici give us "Aspects of the Revolutionary Climate in Bihor County During the Years of the Economic Crisis (1929-1933). Unemployment" (pp 253-266) wherein, after a cursory presentation of the phenomena characteristic of capitalist society that generated the revolutionary climate of those years, the authors confine themselves to listing a few annual figures on unemployment in Bihor County without drawing the necessary conclusions. Nor is Petru Bunta's article "Efforts of the Romanian Delegation to the 1946 Peace Conference To Consolidate Romania's Independence and Sovereignty" (pp 267-278) distinguished by any capacity for synthesis and much less by originality. It is confined a cursory description of the activity of the Romanian delegation to the Paris Peace Conference and makes points that are already known, such as the correctness of Romania's claims and the injustices done to Romania in Paris.

The series under the heading "Miscellaneous" begins with Ioan Piso's report "Epigraphy (IX). Votive Inscriptions Recently Discovered at Sarmizegetusa" (pp 279-287), presenting 24 unpublished inscriptions from Sarmizegetusa that are housed in the Archeological Museum of the modern community of the same name.

In his article "Monetary Treasures from the 15th-18th Centuries Discovered at Cluj-Napoca and Some Problems of Monetary Circulation" (pp 289-296), Francisc Pap publishes the list of monetary treasures including coins issued between the 15th and 18th centuries, making some interesting comments on monetary circulation in 17th century Transylvania. According to the author it is not only difficult but even superfluous to try to determine the social category to which the owners of these treasures belonged, because the important point is whether they can constitute proofs in support of certain phenomena of economic history. The author also demonstrates that the Austrian and German coins could not have replaced the Polish ones at any definite date because it was a process lasting throughout the entire 17th century and one that was caused by the cessation of the "price revolution" of European proportions in the middle of the 17th century.

In the article "Problem of the Existence of the Roe Deer in Romania (15th-19th Centuries)" (pp 297-305), Alexandru Filipescu proves by irrefutable arguments that this species could not have existed in Romania "before the more intensive colonizations begun toward the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries."

Marius Porumb's article "Medieval Romanian Inscriptions from Transylvania" (pp 307-318) presents several unpublished medieval Romanian inscriptions from Transylvania (15th-18th centuries), and in their article "Lateinische Inschriften aus Cluj (16-17 JH)" Eugen Chirila and Viorica Guy Marica publish several ancient, medieval and biblical inscriptions discovered at Cluj-Napoca.

In the article "Agrarian Life in Transylvania in the Hungarian-Language Narrative Sources from the 17th Century" (pp 329-337), in addition to 17th century diaries and memoirs Maria Ursutiu also presents the brief but authentic texts of the historical chronicles in the Hungarian almanacs from Transylvania. The information collected from about 90 works is classified by subjects and chronologically arranged, from reports of agrarian production and productivity, prices of products and labor, and regular use of the varieties within cities to the natural calamities and epidemics that were important factors affecting the feudal economic situation. Note that many references of a social nature (the serf's life, relations between master and serf, trial, redemption and subjugation of the serf, surety, etc.) are also encountered in the historical literature of the 17th century, which is the subject of this article. These, in correlation with the existing documentary material in the archives, can facilitate sound conclusions and arguments.

Cristina Fenesan in her article "Relations of Transylvania with the Ottoman Empire in 1613-1624 in the Light of Some Turkish Documents" (pp 339-379) places some less known aspects of Transylvania's relations with the Ottoman Empire in wider scientific circulation by publishing 13 original Turkish-language documents. Two of the 13 documents she has published are at the General Directorate of State Archives in Bucharest, in the reserve of Turkish documents, and the other 11 are in the Sandor Mike Collection in the "Diplomatic (Historical) Chest" reserve (F. 126) in the Transylvanian Provincial Archive housed in the Hungarian National Archive in Budapest (These 11 Turkish documents together with all the other 98 are on microfilm at the General Directorate of State Archives in Bucharest). Some of the documents published by the

were also published at the end of the last century in German and Hungarian translations in some document collections, and some in the form of summaries or digests. The 13 documents published here are arranged in three groups according to content as well as the time they were issued, and they pertain to several different phases, namely the implications of the relations established in 1613 and 1614 between the Transylvanian prince and the Transylvanian Saxon "nation," Transylvania's political relations with Moldavia in 1620, and the Porte's position concerning the intervention of the autonomous prince in the Thirty Years' War. In addition to her irreproachable presentation of the documents (digest, external criticism, facsimile, translation, and place and date of other publication), the industrious researcher also gives us an excellent commentary (about 10 pages), based on extensive and sound documentation, which could not make better use of these documents that are highly important because of the wealth of new information they contain.

In "Evidence Concerning the Banat Princes in the Beginning of Austrian Rule. Notes About a Document" (pp 379-385) Costin Feneşan presents a document vital to knowledge of the functions and authority of the Romanian princes in the Banat shortly after the inauguration of Habsburg rule. It is a judgment handed down in 1719 by Ioan Tornya, the magistrate of Caransebeş District, jointly with eight neighboring provincial princes sitting in judgment, and it indicates the broad functions they still held at that time which, as we know, they were soon to lose. The document is published in the original language, Latin, accompanied by a copy but unfortunately not by a translation, which would have been normal. But the author does give us a brief but pertinent commentary.

In "Maria Theresa's Decree of Tolerance of 21 March 1760 Printed in the Romanian Language" (pp 387-391), Aurel Radutiu publishes the said decree for the first time in Romanian, according to the original printed at Blaj on 20 May 1760 by Petru Sibianul the printer and housed in the Library of the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy.

In "New Data on Fairs" (pp 393-399) Alexandru Neamţu publishes four documents in the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the State Archives concerning two customs of the Romanians in Hunedoara County, the stag [cerbul] and the fairs. But the documents (one in German and three in Latin) are not accompanied by translations, as is customary, but only by a brief commentary.

In "'Codex Kretzulescu' and Its Place in Historiography in Scheii [?] of Braşov" (pp 401-410) Ioan Aurel Pop makes a detailed comparative analysis of the historical writing "Codex Kretzulescu" (attributed to the scholar Radu Duma by its first publisher in the Romanian language, Em. E. Kretzulescu) and concludes with the well-substantiated hypothesis that this codex "should be entered in its entirety (either as a whole or separately according to fragments) alongside one of the two names (Radu Duma or Simeon Hiara) or preferably both, "since this work is earlier than 'The Anonymous Chronicle of Braşov'..."

Ladislau Gyemant's article "Circumstances Surrounding the Election of the Bishop of Blaj in 1832" (pp 411-415) relates the circumstances that led to the election of Ioan Ieremi as Greek-Catholic bishop of Blaj. The circular printed in Romanian and addressed to the diocesan clergy notifying them of the imperial resolution to convene the electoral synod is published in an annex.

Iacob Marza's article "Pupils of Blaj High School (1836-1837)" (pp 417-427) presents, on the basis of archival materials housed in the Blaj Deposit of the Alba County Branch of the State Archives, some pupils in the philosophy courses of Blaj High School in the school year 1836-1837 who were to distinguish themselves in the following decades "in one way or another in the political, social, cultural and religious affairs of 19th century Transylvania."*

In their article "A Document of 1866 Concerning Reorganization of Blaj Schools" (pp 429-440) Ion Botezan and Ioan Gabor publish for the first time a document from the private archive of Alexandru Sterca-Sulutiu, housed in the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the State Archives.

The document is important because it supplements previous knowledge of the state of Blaj schools on the eve of the institution of the dual monarchy, indicating the efforts to modernize the Blaj schools and to bring them up to the level of the comparable ones in the empire as regards standards for hiring, promoting and paying the teachers. The document is accompanied by a brief introduction and a very useful glossary.

With a sound and varied documentation (unpublished materials from Romanian and foreign archives, the press, general and specialized works, and both Romanian and foreign technical studies and articles), a gift for synthesis and an attractive style, the young researcher Stelian Mindrut provides us with an excellent study of the laws of Apponyi, a subject which, if not completely neglected by our historiography at least has not been accorded the importance it deserves, particularly in view of the sad effects of these laws upon the Romanians in Transylvania. Therefore we must devote more space to the presentation of his study, "Apponyi's Laws and the Parliamentary Activity of the Romanian Deputies (1907)" (pp 441-458).

After a brief review of the abusive measures for forced Hungarianization taken by the Budapest governments in 1868-1907, with direct references to education, the author gives us an extensive and sound analysis of the infamous school laws of 1907, the ultimate purpose of which was to transform all non-Hungarian peoples' schools "into cultural institutions under the permanent control of the state in order to facilitate the non-Hungarian population's acquisition of the state language, alienation from their mother tongues, and their forced conversion to the idea of a single national state. The author goes on to describe in depth the Romanians' reaction to these hateful laws, especially the very farseeing and ardently patriotic speeches of the Romanian deputies to the parliament in Budapest (Teodor Mihali, Aurel Novacu, Alexandru Vaida, Iuliu Maniu, Vasile Goldis, St. Ciceo-Pop, Aurel Vlad, George Popovici et al.), who denounced and vehemently stigmatized the chauvinistic and antidemocratic character of Apponyi's laws both during the discussion of the bill and after it was voted on 19 March and 26 April 1907 in many protests, popular meetings and an active press campaign accompanied by motions and resolutions against the voted bill. Nor does he overlook the strong opposition expressed in the House of Magnates by the heads of the Romanian Church, who openly disapproved of these laws "so injurious to the cultural development of the Transylvanian Romanians' and other nationalities' existence as a people." This opposition was unfortunately quite unsuccessful, as the House of Magnates was also to approve the laws on 10 May 1907 to go into effect on 1 July 1907. Stelian Mindrut goes on to describe various reactions to the Hungarian school policy at points closer to or farther from the center of events, culminating in the

*Namely, Nicolae Pauleti, Nicolae Vladut, Iosif Sterca Sulutiu de Carpinis, Ioan Brad et al.

state of "national defense" announced by TRIBUNA. Pointing out that "The socialists' position regarding the school laws is still an enigma difficult to unravel to this day" (since ADEVARUL, the organ of the Romanian contingent of the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party, in the years before the law "revealed in its pages the difficult existence of teachers in non-Hungarian schools, but in the months crucial for the cultural fate of the nationalities, marked by heated discussions and debates that engulfed the whole country, the semiofficial organ of the Romanian socialists fell silent"), the author feels this problem merits a logical explanation (which we hope he will give us as soon as possible!). But while the Romanian socialists in Transylvania did not take a firm stand against these revolting laws, this was not true of international public opinion. The author diligently records its reactions, which were unanimous in vehemently condemning Apponyi's laws. Among other things, two great literary figures, the Norwegian Bjoernstjerne Bjoernsen and the Russian Lev Tolstoi refused to attend the Interparliamentary Conference to be held in Budapest and the Berlin Peace Congress as a sign of protest against the Hungarian government's decision to denationalize the subjugated peoples. And finally, Stelian Mindru briefly but significantly analyzes the consequences of this Draconian law for the Romanians in the territories occupied by Hungarians and incorporated in the territory of Hungary.

In an interesting article entitled "From the Struggle of the Apuseni Romanians to Occupy the Landowners' Forests (1918-1927)" (pp 459-472), Gheorghe Hristodol has used some unpublished materials from archives, the press of the time, and many subject articles. The first part of the article describes the Apuseni Romanians' revolutionary actions in 1918 and the harsh repressions of the Austro-Hungarian state authorities, which were to culminate in the massacre at Belis, where 45 Romanians, men and women, old and young, were brutally assassinated. More space is devoted to the Apuseni Romanians' fight for agrarian reforms, which also took violent forms at times (occupation of the forests by force and burning them to enlarge the pasture areas). The last part concerns the demanding actions of the Apuseni Romanians, who were dissatisfied with the way the agrarian reform was implemented, mostly against the forestry companies behind which most of the old owners were acting, which actions characterized "the constant struggle for social justice and a better life led under the conditions improved by the new political climate in Romania between the wars."

The last article of this volume is Alexandru Matei's "'The Romanian National Community.' Contributions to Knowledge of the Organization of the North Transylvanian Romanians' Resistance to the Horthy Regime" (pp 473-495). After a brief review of the Romanian National Community's activity in the short period of 2-14 September 1940 in order to defend the rights of the Romanians in North Transylvania, which had been annexed by the Horthyites, the author publishes in an annex a number of documents issued by that community that are in the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the State Archives in the collection of photostats and xerox copies.

The Yearbook also contains a section entitled "Reviews. Bibliographical Notes" (pp 497-534) presenting the most important technical journals and books, Romanian and foreign, in what we must say is a good scientific style, as well as another section entitled "Notices," wherein the intensive scientific work of the Cluj-Napoca Institute of History and Archeology and the History Department in 1977 is perhaps too modestly analyzed.

In conclusion, this volume is a complete success by virtue of both the intrinsic value of the studies and articles that compose it and its overall balance. The editors

have succeeded in covering every period of national history and in reflecting a broad field of interests (political, economic, social and cultural) and that, let us acknowledge, is by no means easy. But we must reproach the editorial collective for the predilection they display for problems concerning the history of Transylvania and, to a less degree, the Banat. The other Romanian provinces are very rarely mentioned and then only from the standpoint of their connections with Transylvania. The fact that the Yearbook is published in Cluj is no justification. The example of the colleagues in Iasi is illustrative in this respect... In the hope that our remark will be received rather as a suggestion for the future (which it actually is), we conclude with a cordial recommendation of the volume to all specialists.

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CONTROVERSIES IN VOJVODINA PROVINCE HIGHLIGHTED

Brutal Policeman 'Undiscoverable'

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1602, 13 Sep 81 pp 23-24

[Article by Petar Ignja: "Sticks With Two Ends"]

[Text] This is the story told by Slobodan Radovic, a university-trained economist and senior adviser of the Belgrade Investment Bank:

"On 22 February 1979 I received a telephone call at 0630 (at my home in Novi Sad) from Petko Sekulic, investigator of the Novi Sad police, who told me to be in his office (room number 15) at 0700. At exactly 0700 I arrived at room 15, where I was awaited by two investigators: Petko Sekulic, law school graduate, age 26 (karate expert), and Branko Vuckovic, law school graduate, age 38. The aforementioned investigators commenced the interrogation without any sort of order. They put various questions to me about my business and private connections with managers of various work organizations which are clients of the Bank of Belgrade in Novi Sad, whose director I was until 31 December 1977. The interrogation lasted from 0700 to 1600 hours. They pressed me to say and write what they wanted ... that I approved credit to the work organization Vojvodina (an export-import firm) so that in return that same work organization would hire a certain VP, an unskilled working woman who is the sister in law of the building contractor M. P., to sell ears of boiled corn in a street stand for a certain time--while M. P. would build me two weekend cottages without payment for doing him that favor. When they broke off the interrogation, they took me home, conducted a detailed search and took away my passport, the bankbook for my foreign exchange savings account and a pile of various documents."

The Inquiry

To make a long story short, Radovic also said that after the search they again took him to room 15, and from 1900 hours to 0300 the next morning they continued the "job they had already begun." And then something occurred which the people in the Novi Sad police say they do not do (according to the official statement by the responsible authorities): the two investigators simply beat up Slobodan Radovic.

He said that this abuse lasted 3 days; the people responsible in the Novi Sad police say--only one. In the morning, they say, when they learned of the methods of investigation used by their two people, they immediately suspended them.

However it was (1 day or 3 days), Radovic remained in custody for all of 25 days.

He says: "At 0300 hours on 24 February 1979 they took me to room 5 of the jail. It was then that I removed by shirt for the first time in 44 hours and saw the horrible condition of my body; I was all black and blue."

Once he was eventually released, Slobodan Radovic had to undergo medical treatment and rehabilitation. He was given sick leave for 1.5 months.

On 7 April Radovic filed criminal charges. Twenty days later the public prosecutor requested information on the two investigators from the Novi Sad interopstina police department. Two days later the response came back: "In connection with the criminal charges which have been filed against members of the Novi Sad interopstina police department, the disciplinary court of the interopstina police department rendered a decision on 19 April 1979 to expel Petko Sekulic and Branko Vuckovic from the work community. This decision is not final." This was followed by information on the persons named and the signature of Djuro Markov, chief of the Crime Control Administration.

The entire case, of course, passed into the jurisdiction of the courts. At that point a new tale begins that is still stranger than the one we have been telling up to now.

Mechanical Error

The first trial was scheduled for 9 July 1979. But the trial did not take place, since the two investigators did not appear at all. More precisely, it was established that the summons could not be served on them because the addresses were given incorrectly.

People familiar with court affairs know that such things do happen. Once, twice.... In this case the trial was held only after the fifth date was set. Either the investigator did not appear, or only one would come, or both would come without their lawyers,... and so on, and so forth.

In the meantime (to spend just a moment breaking down this chronicle of court procedure) Slobodan Radovic's work organization granted him paid leave, which he had not requested, lasting 1 month, on the simple grounds that criminal proceedings had been instituted against him, that it was in the interest of the bank "to grant paid leave." Comradely attention or the beginning of something else?

In March 1980 the opstina court in Novi Sad rendered a verdict in the name of the people and pronounced Petko Sekulic and Branko Vuckovic guilty of having in Novi Sad, acting in their official capacity, while conducting conversations with the injured party Slobodan Radovic for purposes of obtaining information,

insulted him, saying that he was dishonest, slapped him and hit him with their fists "in the region of the chest and stomach," demanding particular admissions, and in that way "mistreated the aforenamed and behaved toward him in a manner that violated his human dignity." The verdict of the court is clear, and in the criminal code this is referred to as mistreatment in the exercise of authority. Sekulic was given 1.5 years in prison and Vuckovic 1 year and 4 months.

How did this judicial procedure end? In an unusual way. A few months later the Novi Sad Superior Court issued a ruling vacating the verdict of the opstina court. What is unusual is not that the superior court set aside the verdict of the lower court (this is nothing rare in our system); it is the grounds. The superior court found that the trial was conducted and verdict of the court pronounced by one panel, while another panel is referred to in the document calling for delivery of the verdict. In essence it turned out that the verdict was pronounced by a panel which was not involved in the trial!

Frank Conversation

How did this error occur? we asked Kajka Igic-Jovic, president of the opstina court in Novi Sad.

"It was a purely technical error, one that occurred by accident. The verdicts are written by the clerk of court, and I think that the superior court should not have quashed the verdict because of a single technical error," she said.

The opinion of the president of the opstina court remains, however, in the private domain, the decision of the superior court has legal force.

So, everything begins again from the beginning. The case was put in the hands of another panel, and the trial was set for 27 February 1981. But that same day it was postponed. It was to be scheduled five more times and postponed just as often, since it would turn out that the summons was not served on the codefendant Vuckovic. Finally, this May the court ordered Vuckovic to be taken into custody and issued a warrant for his arrest. Three and a half months have passed since then, and Vuckovic has not been found.

The responsible people in the Novi Sad interopstina police department say that they are covering their jurisdiction and guarantee that Vuckovic is not in Novi Sad. Where is he? They can only make conjectures (a village in Lika is mentioned). A warrant has been issued for his arrest, and it is to be expected that some police department somewhere will certainly find him. Until then there is no trial.

We put to Marija Struharik, deputy president of the opstina court and president of the criminal panel, the question: Have there been other cases in the Novi Sad Opstina Court when employees of the police department were being tried for overstepping official authority?

"These cases are not frequent, but there have been some," was the answer.

We put the same question in the Novi Sad interopstina police department. The responsible people categorically said that nothing like this had happened in the last several months (at least 6) if we exclude Radovic and his investigation. But it does happen that a policeman will strike an innocent man on the street. Before our eyes an assistant chief signed a ruling demoting a policeman to washing cars because he mistreated and struck a woman on the Novi Sad bridge.

The responsible people in the Novi Sad interopstina police department say that the political responsibility of its two investigators has also been established through party procedures. This did not move quickly nor easily. There were people who "did not find sufficient grounds for their punishment by the party." Nevertheless, Vuckovic was expelled from the League of Communists, but Sekulic had in the meantime obtained a job, and the entire case is now in the jurisdiction of his new basic organization of the League of Communists.

Why is it that certain people in the Novi Sad interopstina police department have taken the part of these two investigators? We have talked about it. The responsible people say that it is probably a case of false solidarity (where will they find other jobs), but also defense of the outdated police methods of the past. The new methods we are advocating require much more knowledge and ability, and some people refuse to understand this or are unable to understand it. That is the essence of the conflict.

Everything that has happened and everything that is still happening in the case of Slobodan Radovic and his investigators will probably serve as a lesson to someone.

Organ Recitals Better Avoided

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1603, 20 Sep 81 pp 24-25

[Article by Petar Ignja: "It Was All Just Music"]

[Text] In mid-June of this year we wrote about everything that happened in the Radnoti Miklos High School in Kanjis after the now infamous concert in the Horgos church. To remind our readers: several teachers of that school attended a concert given by a girl who was one of their students. The concert was held in a church, in Horgos, following weekly mass. The girl played Bach on the church organ (it is relevant to say that this is the only organ in the area). The epilogue has been drastic: four teachers have been expelled from the League of Communists, and several others received less severe penalties.

We have also written how the workers' council of the school formed a disciplinary commission which was supposed to establish their fitness for work in the school. Recently that job was completed; four teachers were discharged, one resigned, and two were suspended from the school for a year.

Our attempt to have a few words with the "competent authorities" about the fate of the people who were discharged was unsuccessful. Some were too busy, others

felt that any conversation was superfluous, since the orderly self-management documentation existed concerning the entire matter. And why not? The documentary approach protects both sides from the unpleasant possibility of making an (unintentional) error.

Weighty Decisions

The disciplinary commission of the school consisted of five members. After the public hearing it made several decisions. We will go in order:

In the case of Nandor Lajko, teacher of defense and protection, it was decided that he was guilty and it was recommended to the workers' council that it confirm the decision--"since in his behavior he does not give evidence that he is competent to work in the field of education and training." And since he "committed a quite serious violation of his work duties," the disciplinary commission recommended the measure of termination of employment.

A similar introduction was used for all the professors punished; in future we will give only the grounds.

It is said of Nandor Lajko that on the basis of the data collected it was established that it was his idea (dating back to last year) to organize the concert in the Horgos church, though he himself did not attend the concert. In the inquiry the disciplinary commission ascertained "that Nandor Lajko possessed a Bible, which he kept in the school office (...) but there was no evidence that the accused used the Bible in the training and teaching of students. On the basis of the minutes of a three-member commission for environmental protection, the nationwide defense room, which was his responsibility, was disorderly. Moreover, on two occasions he forgot to lock the door of the preparation part of the room, where weapons are kept."

This is essentially all that this teacher did; these are the errors which earned him his discharge. The final assessment of their severity will be made by the court.

It is said of Laslo Hegedis that he attended the concert and that "during the inquiry" the commission learned that he defended his attendance. Yet another sin is put on his soul: namely, it is said that in a meeting of the teaching council he "reacted rudely" when he learned that A. S. had been awarded the Mokranjac Certificate.

The commission said of Istvan Kabok that he attended the concert and that even later he did not see "his error." It also said that he was "careless in certain of his statements on very serious topics." To be sure, there is no mention of either the statements or the very serious topics, but we will remind the readers that Kabok did, among other things, say this: let the committee buy an organ, and we will go there to concerts!

Istvan Kabok is almost blind. A few days after the article was published in NIN, the Subotica Opstina Committee of the Vojvodina Federation of the Blind

sent him by mail notification of his recall. We read: "The decision is passed unanimously to recall Istvan Kabok from his positions on commissions, his delegate's immunity not withstanding, specifically: chairman of the commission for awards and decorations, member of the commission for awards and decorations, and member of the disciplinary commission." And that is all. Not a word, not a single letter about the why and the how?

It is said of Marija Antoci that she supported attendance of the concert in the Horgos church. She is reproached for having on one occasion brought into her homeroom class a monograph on the nearby village Martonos which had been published by the church.

Emilija Salai (penalized with a 1-year suspension) is reproached for having attended the concert. But that is not all. It is said that on one occasion she missed the dress rehearsal for ceremonies on the day before the official opening of the gymnasium. She is reproached for having in the past (this was later withdrawn, but the seal was affixed, and the charge was typed out), been the author of a rhythmic dance number (Emilija teaches physical education), and the sociopolitical organizations had found her number, performed by girls on School Day, "unsuitable for that occasion." There is no mention of what sort of "unsuitability."

A similar fate befell Denes Sabo, a chemistry teacher, who says that he has been thinking for days about leaving the school voluntarily.

How did the teachers themselves take this punishment?

Emilija Salai says that all of this has been very painful for her, since even today she does not know who is right.

And who is right?

Back in mid-June it was our judgment that the concert in the Horgos church was purely cultural in nature on the basis of the information we had. No one has denied that assertion. Moreover, had that not been the case, had anyone attempted to use the church or the concert for militant religious purposes, our position would certainly have been different.

The Rhythmic Dance Number

Probably aware of the deficiency of their charges, the people who favored pronouncement of these strict sentences tried to broaden them. Stories were started that the teachers who attended the concert were also poor teachers. It was said of Kabok, who was discharged, that he did not regularly enter the content of classes in the school daybooks. To some extent this is true, but it is also true that he corrected that error (we will not point out once again that the man is nearly blind and has great difficulty writing, since he himself does not consent to this justification). That Bible was the charge placed on the head of Lajko, who was discharged. His explanation in response to the question--Why a Bible in school?--is that there was a campaign to collect old books, and

that Bible is an old book, published back in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Moreover, the disciplinary commission itself acknowledges that it was not proven that the teacher Lajko had used that book in the school.

And the criticism that the rhythmic dance number (in the case of Emilija Salai) was not suitable for School Day does not deserve comment. Certainly not as grounds for the disciplinary measure which was pronounced against her.

All in all, on the basis of everything read in this "self-management documentation" one gets the impression that there is a large gap between the severity of the penalties and the convincingness of the substantiation. As though someone wanted to prove that he was right at all costs. In spite of the public reaction, or precisely because of it. But the price is too high. Are several relatively young people to be left without jobs because of it? Fortunately, in our democratic and self-managed society the last word has by no means been said in this entire case. Now it is the turn of the courts of associated labor and, we believe, of the bylaws commission of the League of Communists. Let us wait.

7045
CSO: 2800/28

MUHIC RESUMES ARGUMENT OVER 'DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM'

Sarajevo SVIJET in Serbo-Croatian 14 Sep 81 pp 10-11

[Article by Dr Fuad Muhic, responding to an article entitled "Democratic Centralism or Democratic Unity" by Antun Zvan, published in KOMUNIST, 28 August 1981: "Certain Old Refrains"]

[Text] At times the author of polemical articles finds himself in a situation of regretting the level of civility which he wanted to display during a critical examination of someone's views. That is exactly the position Antun Zvan has put me in in his article "Democratic Centralism or Democratic Unity," KOMUNIST, Yugoslav edition, No 1276, 28 August 1981. In the tone of affected arrogance which is in any case characteristic of theoreticians of his orientation he has proven once again that one should talk with thinkers of that persuasion the way Oskar Davico does: frankly with respect to revealing the premises of their thoughts and in any case without beating about the bush, without pulling punches, since they do not deserve any other approach. On numerous occasions the New Leftists--and in Zvan's case that is essentially what we are talking about--have shown that classic petty bourgeois intolerance is actually concealed beneath the false academic gloss of their writings, and when it is examined in an ethical and psychological light, that intolerance is nothing other than a feeble defense of their own insecurity, theoretical stuttering and an endeavor, worn out long since, but still persistent, to discredit in advance every criticism of their position as dogmatic or at least politically determined in the highest degree. That is why on this occasion it is necessary to talk to Zvan without those scruples which for the sake of conventional civility (but, as it subsequently turned out, altogether without success), we wanted to display in this spring's article entitled "No Alternative," SVIJET, No 1188.

We will familiarize the reader with what we are dealing with on this occasion.

In the Yugoslav edition of KOMUNIST on 5 June 1981 (No 1264), Franc Setinc published under the department "Ideological Trends in the League of Communists" authorized excerpts from lectures entitled "Democratic Centralism in the Theory and Practice of the LCY" which he delivered at the Josip Broz Tito School of Politics in Kumrovec. At one point Setinc refers to the views of Antun Zvan to the effect that democratic centralism should be abolished as the basic principle of the organizational mechanism of the LCY, which had been published in NIN

(No 1568). We will quote that passage in Setinc's article which is directly relevant to the purpose of this article of ours. "Comrade Dolanc delivered lectures on this (that is, on democratic centralism--F. M.)," Setinc writes, "at the School of Law in Ljubljana, and he also had an interview in NIN which is alluded to by Antun Zvan of Zagreb, reproaching Dolanc for supposedly having caused confusion. Dr Fuad Muhic, who quite rightly reproaches Zvan for having begun a debate on revision of the principle of democratic centralism, also joined in the debate. Zvan, then, was not debating solely with Dolanc, whom indeed he did not fully understand, since he had merely plucked certain ideas from the interview and without having Dolanc's entire lecture before his eyes he had begun a debate about whether the principle of democratic centralism was still relevant at all. He thinks that it is not, that it is outdated, on the grounds that the centralistic element is favored not only in its practical use, but even in theoretical elaboration. He says that the adjective 'democratic' does nothing more than denote what kind of centralism is involved, and he says that we ought to adopt a new name--democratic unity in action. But Dr Muhic feels that this is revision, that these are well-known things from the past, specifically from the time of the euphoria of nationalism and what we might call the liberalist-petty bourgeois views of the principle of democratic centralism, when we were fighting against attempts not only to revise the principle of democratic centralism, but indeed also to change the party into a party of the petty bourgeois type."

As one immediately detects, in the first part of this passage Franc Setinc expressed his concurrence in my judgment that in the case of Antun Zvan we are actually dealing with a revision of the principle of democratic centralism, that is, an approach that is altogether different and which, let it be said even if it prejudices the matter, is not originally ours, rather than the desire for democratic centralism to undergo further development and improvement. In the second part of the passage, however, Setinc merely quotes my views without entering into their evaluation.

And what does Antun Zvan do?

His reaction is one of alarm. "Now the debate has truly begun, he is sounding the alarm ... but instead of taking the road of a fruitful dialogue, he has turned it into a dead end, arguing that 'there is no alternative' to democratic centralism. F. Muhic's article entitled 'No Alternative' first appeared in the Sarajevo review SVIJET (No 1188), where he is chairman of the publishing council. In it the author says expressis verbis that 'Zvan is not talking' about the only alternatives to democratic centralism he wrote about, and then, taking an incomprehensible turn, he discusses my article precisely in the context of those alternatives, i.e., the nationalistic, liberalistic and New Left attempts to revise democratic centralism. It was to Muhic's advantage that 'attempts had been made in our most recent past to speak about his' alternatives, and the fact, as he would have it, that I do not suggest possible alternatives. I did not respond to him, since I have neither the time nor the will for such debates. However, when you (here Zvan is addressing Franc Setinc--F. M.) in the lecture already mentioned and the fragment in KOMUNIST /repeated/ (emphasis A. Z.) Muhic's constructs, and then added something against me as well, it became clear

to me that the desire was to break off the dialogue and retain the status quo in application of democratic centralism. Incidentally, you speak in general terms about my article, passing on Muhic's interpretation that this is 'revision' ... (then follows the quote we have given from Franc Setinc)."

Now, isn't that fine, as Mija Aleksic would say on television. A prestigious sociopolitical figure such as Franc Setinc has nothing else to do, according to Antun Zvan, but to deprive him, Zvan, of the possibility of entering into a dialogue, nor sufficient intellectual abilities to form his own views, but must "repeat" someone else's "constructs" and then add something else for his own part! A very fine opinion and still finer level of imputation coming from this picture of refinement who just one sentence before uttering this invective was bemoaning the fact that violence had been done him and he had been shunted into a "dead-end street"! But we hope that Franc Setinc will respond to the extent that he deems necessary.

As for Zvan's arrogant allusion to his not replying to me "because he had neither the time nor the desire for such debate," I would mention that no one in fact expected anything of the kind from him. The article "No Alternative" came about as the result of the need to familiarize the public more broadly with views of the kind that regard democratic centralism to be "outdated" for our present and future organizational needs and that it should be replaced by some new principle, which Zvan has found in "democratic unity in action." The article in fact concluded with the remark that its purpose was not to "rebuke" Zvan "for any of the motives he had referred to." I believed that that was the civil way to act toward him, and I acted accordingly. Even then I was not anxious to mention his name, not because of his subsequent arrogance, but simply because I was giving an author free advertising before a large public. But in such an important period as the period just in advance of the 12th LCY Congress one could not be satisfied with the standard formula "there are individuals...." So, let Zvan strut about in the role of greatness which has been wronged. His name was mentioned much more because of the timing than because of its value, and it was done much more out of a need for illustration than from a conviction that the public gained something thereby.

Now I would return to the first sentence of this article. Zvan's indirect answer in KOMUNIST convinced me that he should not be shown even that minimum of civility which had been shown him, since his brief article in NIN even then indicated the need for a different treatment. In his article in KOMUNIST, however, Zvan left no room for doubt: the 1968 New Leftist in him emerged, adopting the basic view that a party arranged according to the principles of democratic centralism can be nothing other than the parties of the Old Left, whether they be Stalinist or neo-Stalinist, whether they are called the VSKP(b) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)] or the LCY, whether they have arisen on Russian or Yugoslav soil. Zvan has been striving to prove this unique metaphysics by referring to no other than Lenin and to those passages in Lenin which show that democratic centralism has its historical grounding only in conditions similar to Russian conditions, its meaning being defined accordingly exclusively in terms of the direct conditions rather than in any more lasting value. In Zvan's opinion, its effects in the final outcome are always negative (bureaucratization,

overemphasis of representative bodies, passivity of the party rank and file, and so on), though (grudgingly) he admits that it has certain constructive effects ("respect for and implementation of the decisions of the majority, powers of leadership organs as organizers in implementing those decisions and their creative historical and practical role in the League of Communists and in society"). In short, Zvan concludes, the time of democratic centralism has passed irrevocably and now a new era should be opened up in which the bylaws would be amended to inaugurate "democratic unity in action."

The reader has certainly be struck by the fact that this important "change of direction" which Zvan advocates coincides in both time and content with the "post-Tito" period. We hope he will not be angry if we remind him that the view that the "post-Tito" period should be distinguished by "broad democratization," by contrast with the previous period of "bureaucratic centralism," is nevertheless not original to him, but rather over the last 1.5 years we have had occasion to hear it from certain other quarters as well. Zvan will probably write about this in more detail in the extensive study which he has just announced.

In any case, regardless of Zvan's possible anger at being reminded of this coincidence, one should not suppose that its importance is only one of timing. He advocates a view which is in essence very radical and which, were it carried out in practice, would require either an experiment with consequences that cannot for now be foreseen or indeed an irresponsible and intellectualistic playing with our experience up to this point and with the need to deepen it with new knowledge and not simply to abandon and reject it as the experience of "bureaucratic centralism," of "operation through official bodies and professional staff members," and the like. Both aspects deserve a critical examination.

Zvan's "democratic unity in action," whether he wishes it or not, is so ambiguous and without any precise definition that it is absolutely incomprehensible that he should become angry when someone says that it calls up the most diverse associations. Was he not explicitly appealed to by our New Left in 1968 and immediately thereafter by the right in 1971? Are there not resonances of that kind of demand (grant us leave to make mention of this as well) in certain points of the program of today's Albanian irredentism in which the demand is expressed for "democratic inclusion" of the League of Communists of Kosovo in the LCY, but as an independent provincial party (and, incidentally, isn't it in this spirit that the now-deposed Kosovo leadership attempted to act)? Zvan vehemently rejects any connection whatsoever with those platforms and would like to compel us to admit his originality. But he ought to know (though we do not wish to be his tutors in this matter) that no intellectual can stand aloof from the objective consequences of his reflections unless he has adopted irresponsibility as a privileged form of behavior granted to his profession and in exasperation proclaims every reference to it to be an impermissible interference in the sphere of freedom of thought. By contrast with this irresponsibility, we much prefer Lukac's view (though Lukac himself applied it one-sidedly only to bourgeois theoreticians) that in essence there is no harmless view of the world and that there are consequences which rise above the sphere of subjective intention and take objective form in reality regardless of whether someone wishes it or not. If "democratic unity in action," assuming that that little "party centralism" which we have today is abandoned, were to result in a decanting of the LCY

so that it is transformed from a revolutionary party to a typical bourgeois party on behalf of a false "democratic spirit" as an end in itself rather than as a function of real needs, no sensible person would consider Zvan any less responsible than those forces who have already attempted this, but fortunately were thwarted by correct application of the principle of democratic centralism.

Perhaps Zvan is imitating certain formulations of the parties of Eurocommunism, which also speak in a variety of versions about "democratic unity in action" and abandonment of democratic centralism. But in fact the most recent experience of the Spanish party, in which these views appear to be most evident, furnishes a warning as to the danger to its very survival the party ran in its attempt at "democratic unity in action" among such opposed orientations as the "new Eurocommunists" and the Spanish "Afghanistanis," and between them Carrillo's center, whose authority both currents wanted to deny. How much more articulated historical meaning there is in Carrillo's appeal for preserving the unity of the party (essentially democratic-centralistic unity) than the gabble in the congress of those forces which in the name of abstract democracy (but as a practical matter from quite narrow sectarian interests) had forgotten the necessity of unified action around a common center.

In his article Zvan toys even with Lenin in a rather jovial manner. It is true, as Zvan asserts, that Lenin did avoid being doctrinaire and did not wish the Russian experience to be imposed on other parties of his time. But when it comes to the principle which he considers to be already outdated in our present context, Zvan should have also quoted that passage in which Lenin says that there is "democratic centralism" and "democratic centralism." Obviously this is not just a play on words on Lenin's part, but of his emphasizing one of the sides in the phrase "democratic centralism" depending on whether the historical circumstances require greater centralization or greater democratization of party life. Even our own Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the LCY has gone through both phases, and there is no reason for us to conceal this today. But since the periods in which we had a more pronounced centralistic pattern did not extinguish the prospects for democratization (rather, moreover, signified even an important thrust in the struggle for it after the bureaucratic deformations were realized), so the periods in which the democratization of party life has been achieving significant success have not eliminated the need for centralism. If Zvan had followed the evolution of our democratic centralism with a bit more goodwill and a bit less of a desire for radicalism, he would necessarily have spotted all those innovations which make it essentially different from that same principle in the parties of the Old Left (we might mention only the fact that the principles of concluding agreements and accords in the process of policy decisionmaking are winning ever greater legitimacy and that the position of the majority is being arrived at through them, rather than through the classical procedure of outvoting, though the decision of the majority is not made any the less binding thereby; and then renunciation of the behavioral pattern whereby the membership which was in the minority is subjected to suspicion of oppositionist or factionalist unless it strives to develop its view as a separate platform, and so on). These innovations have not at the same time been a negation of that form of party centralism which was indispensable to us in preserving revolutionary integrity and which perhaps we need more today in its democratic form than in any previous period, in spite of Zvan's disagreement at the

very level of principle. Naturally, in the form of democratic centralism, which does not preclude even "democratic unity in action" (but even presupposes it), but not in the absolutized meaning in which Zvan uses that term.

In conclusion I would say that Antun Zvan, with respect to the democratic spirit of dialogue, had no particular need to refer to Aleksandar Grlickov and thus to give the reader the impression that a party official (Setinc) is denying him what others grant him in principle. This is a rather trivial methodology of disputing or approving particular individuals, for which neither Setinc, nor Grlickov, nor the *LCY* as a whole have any need. The problem appears to be elsewhere: It bothers the mentality of our New Left greatly if someone fails to deny it access to the public, since then it cannot proclaim itself a victim, and that seems to be the only way left of making itself attractive. I believe that there will not be a single publication in our country (and KOMUNIST has indeed demonstrated this) which will not publish the views of Antun Zvan along with others. Why, then, does he need to declare himself in advance shunted into a "dead-end street"? He will have reason to say so only when a realization of his own position, now suppressed, begins to break through. But in that case he would not be able to blame anyone "outside" for its failure, but only the inadequate level of his own knowledge. It is not exactly a refined, nor altogether academic pattern of behavior to pass off one's own subconscious as someone else's consciousness, and then to intimate a hindering of free expression where there really is no basis whatsoever.

7045
CSO: 2800/39

CONTRASTING ASPECTS OF TITO LEGACY ADDRESSED

Interview With Biographer Dedijer

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 331, 26 Sep 81 pp 18-22

[Interview with Vladimir Dedijer by Jelena Lovric in Opatija; date not specified]

[Text] There are books which fill an entire human life: "Novi prilozi za biografiyu Josipa Broza Tita" [New Contributions to the Biography of Josip Broz Tito] is not only the life of Josip Broz, but also contains Vladimir Dedijer's entire life. Not merely because Professor Dedijer is Tito's biographer, as newsmen usually refer to him, or the "chronicler of our revolution," as he usually refers to himself, but also because he has spent nearly his entire life gathering material for these books which one reviewer has said are important "both from the scholarly and from the moral standpoint." It seems as though all the author's days, all his human emotions, and all the tremors of his life are deposited and compressed in them, in these books.

These past days he has been in Opatija, where with his publisher, Liburnija of Rijeka, he has been doing the final chores on the second volume which will soon be coming out (and the third volume has already been sent to the printer's), and whence he is in contact with his publisher in West Germany, where his large book "Tito, moj zivot, moje djelo, moje nasljedje" [Tito, My Life, My Work, My Legacy] will also be coming out soon (and the text is already being translated into 12 other world languages), Professor Dedijer told us that he was "terribly tired and somehow all shattered." The last year has been a very frantic and strenuous one: the second and third volumes of "Novi prilozi ..." were prepared in 11 months during a period when Vladimir Dedijer made several trips to various parts of the world to sit in Russell's court in judgment on human tyranny, aggression and injustice in whatever form it might appear. And even his health, seriously damaged way back somewhere on Sutjeska, has not exactly borne him up: On several occasions he had to enter the hospital, but always the hospital room becomes an office through which physicians and historians, nurses and collaborators--researchers--file through at the same time. All in an effort to finish the books and thus fulfill--as Dedijer likes to say--the pledge made to President Tito.

[Question] We ask Professor Dedijer what he was most mindful of and what he concentrated on in writing this book.

And he read to us the words with which it begins:

Dedijer: "As I write the first lines of this chronicle of the life and struggle of Josip Broz Tito, a man whom I have loved and respected, it is my duty to always be mindful of his devotion to the idea of truth, justice and fairness. I will hold to that principle insofar as I am able until I complete the very last line of this book, since I also have a duty to obey that pledge of Tito's concerning decisiveness in respecting the truth and justice in every matter, and therefore in the writing of an historical chronicle as well." My young comrade and close friend Rudi Rizman likes to say that the historian must doubt everything, but first of all his own self and everything he has written. That sacred rule, which, I think, is a key one in historical methodology, I am applying first to my own texts, so that, for instance, the second volume begins with corrections of inaccuracies and the filling of gaps in those Contributions for Tito's biography which came out 30 years ago. But since all of us who participate in contemporary events must be aware that the scales of history will be our sole judge, I also apply that rule to the texts of other contemporaries, including Comrade Tito himself. I might illustrate by mentioning that Comrade Tito gave three different dates of his birth in his three autobiographies.

START: Was that intentional?

Dedijer: No. Tito wrote the first autobiography in 1935, the second in '45, and the third in '52. I have talked with Tito about those differing dates, and we established what was involved: He was one of 15 children, and in rural families with a great many children in the house they weren't very mindful of each birthday. But the very fact that Tito gave those three dates shows how profoundly he was a man of the people. However, my researchers found that someone there in Tuhelj, somewhere in the mid-sixties, did falsify the date of Tito's birth in the certificate of baptism. But it was done very ineptly: a little piece of paper bearing the date "25 May" was simply pasted over the date "7 May."

START: Was it difficult to arrive at that truth and fairness in this book?

Dedijer: Yes, it was. First, because I had extremely strong emotional ties to Tito, ties that were for all time, not something that was changed by this or that policy. We were together in a great revolution, at its zenith, when violent death was cutting down our peoples on a large scale. Tito is for me the symbol of that struggle and those sufferings of the people. It was difficult, especially during the shock that affected everyone after Tito's departure, to suppress those emotions and give preference to reason, to work with my head--since after all this is scholarly work--to prevent the heart from leading me into bias.

START: And outside yourself? Were there any misunderstandings--if we can so put it--on the public scene, for example, with your publisher in West Germany?

Dedijer: Herr Schulz is a very civilized and unusually good man, a man who loves literature. But since no one is perfect, so he happened to fall under the influence of certain of our petty bureaucrats who in a desire to wangle a few points on their own suggested to him that this was some kind of official book. You know, to some extent Schulz was thinking along the lines: Yugoslavia is a communist country, the government there decides everything, so this fellow Dedijer is only talking big when he says he is free to write as he chooses. And then the first conflict back 9 months ago: I sent him the chapter on nonalignment and I was waiting for him to return it to me for authorization, which is the procedure, especially in the case of a translation. But Schulz didn't send it. I telephoned him, I sent telegrams--nothing. Then my lawyer gave him 24 hours. The next morning Herr Schulz arrived in my village in Istria, drove 9 hours, he was alarmed, and he said that he had given it to one of our comrades--let's not mention the name--who holds a certain position, to read the text, and that person had said that everything was just fine. Since interest in the book had grown, more and more of these people of ours gathered around Herr Schulz to suggest various things to him; I heard that they even wanted to arrange some promotion: 100 of the most prestigious Germans, and I was told, you need not even come. And when the news was published in the German papers that these were Tito's memoirs, and my name was not even mentioned, I wrote to him and spelled it out that this is only one of the numerous books about Tito, that it is written by an independent historian who does not even belong to any university, and that this is not any kind of official publication at all.

START: So, it is not an official book. But have there been "official" suggestions, influences?

Dedijer: I do not claim to make the final assessment of Tito. But since it is the historian's job to constantly gather new material, new documents, not only about recent events, but also about those from the previous period about which, let us say, we do not know enough, I did ask some of our leaders to give me accounts of events in which they participated or help me in the search for documents. Most of them answered me, we talked, they helped me, while some did not respond, and still others agreed to see me, but when they heard what I wanted--they hemmed and hawed and fell silent. I think it is to the credit of the country in which I live--and I specifically emphasize this in the book--that following Tito's death none of the leaders in Yugoslavia, either in government or party positions, whom I met displayed any intention to influence me with respect to the publication of certain facts. My conversations with these men of politics, who also talked with me about events in which they themselves were participants, even ended with the words: it is your affair how you want to select and how you will write it, we are not interfering in that.

I received the most help from Edvard Kardelj and Vladimir Bakaric. I do not correspond with Bakaric on history only when I have one fat year after nine lean ones (not a single book of mine was published in Yugoslavia for 13 years). Bakaric had the courage to correspond with me even in '54 when I was like the black sheep. Aside from his manly courage, Bakaric is also gifted with the wisdom of caution. As a man who is democratically disposed and who is at the same time a friend who has known me for 40 years as a hard-headed Hercegovinian, he

has emphasized in many letters that he is writing to me exclusively as an actual participant in the events. In one letter concerning the tragic events in Kerestinac he says that he has only a few "tiny suggestions concerning those things where I might be an eyewitness or almost an eyewitness. I leave the rest to you, and I will not interfere." At the end of the letter he stresses once again: "but I will not interfere."

But the underground began to operate and to assault that greatest and noblest thing which Comrade Tito left to us: that a man like me, for example, can write in peace, without pressure, unhampered, according to his conscience.

START: If one is to judge by various rumors, there was also mistrust of what you were writing.

Dedijer: The first of those underground charges was that I underestimated the struggle of the Communist Party of Croatia in 1941. I do not honor such accusations. The book contains what I myself saw: I lived in Zagreb illegally from 1938 to 1941. We were publishing the magazine 30 DANA [30 DAYS], we published Lenin's "Imperialism," which Ognjen Prica, Bakaric and I translated. What an atmosphere there was at that time in Zagreb! This was Yugoslavia's largest industrial center, it had the strongest working class and the strongest influence of the party among the workers. The party's strength in Zagreb was in worker organizations, but a large number of young intellectuals were also on the side of the party. Only the student movement at the university in Belgrade was slightly stronger than in Zagreb, but in Belgrade the party had far less influence among the workers and intellectuals. But I know from what quarter the wind of those underground intrigues is blowing. Some people don't like my having inserted this or that, but they won't come out in the open and say what bothers them, but they are searching for my sensitive and vulnerable spots.

START: Isn't the rumor that your book is pro-Djilas aimed at those vulnerable spots of yours?

Dedijer: My book is neither pro-Djilas nor anti-Djilas. It is the work of a historian who critically examines, first, everything that he has written himself, and then everything which others have written. Including, of course, Djilas as well. Djilas has written more than anyone else about our contemporary history. I concur in Mitja Ribicic's opinion that our people--were they able to read everything which Djilas has written--would frame their own judgment about all this. There are also accurate things in his books, but he suffers from a disease which I suffer from a bit myself: We come from regions where everyone looks lovingly at his own bust and polishes it all day long. That is the root of his examination of historical occurrences: doctrine is the most important thing for him, but he changes doctrines as often as his shirt. He looks at the facts of life through doctrine, and whatever does not suit his doctrine or his preoccupation of the moment--he alters, particularly when it concerns him himself. In his books, you know, he is always on the white horse, he is the only one who is clean. But the facts speak otherwise. But I do not write much about Djilas--some 10 documents or so about certain specific matters.

START: You say that Kardelj helped you a great deal. How do you treat his role in the book?

Dedijer: I measure Kardelj by the same yardstick and the same methodology as all the others. I do not belong to any Kardelj cult as do, for example, certain of my Slovenian friends who out of local patriotism have made Kardelj larger than Tito. I do not engage in that: I am not a teacher giving grades to students. Nor do I engage in the activity of certain individuals who in attacking Kardelj are actually attacking our system of self-management. I have no use for such things. I am a free man, I act according to my conscience alone. I do not turn according to which way the wind is blowing. So in my book I offer all the accessible material on all the open questions, I furnish all the possible views.

START: Did you also seek eyewitness accounts from people who are no longer in power? From Aleksandar Rankovic, for example?

Dedijer: You must take into account that the history of our revolution cannot be written without the eyewitness accounts of Aleksandar Rankovic. He was in fact the person closest in physical terms to Tito from '41 right up until almost '62-'63. Both Kardelj and Djilas had missions during the war in various parts of the country, and the only man who did not leave Tito for even a day was Rankovic, so that his accounts have tremendous historical importance.

On one occasion Comrade Tito said when the question arose of whether I should turn to Rankovic: "Well, go ahead, but be careful, he is a very tricky one." "Now, now, Old Man," I said, "you don't have to tell me that water is wet." I wrote him a letter, but it went unanswered. Just recently, as I was finishing the book, I again sent a telegram to Rankovic, though that was not on my initiative alone, I reminded him of the letter 2 years ago, I don't know, I said, whether you received it, "you know the way police are, they are sticking their nose in everywhere, even where they shouldn't," and I asked him to give his opinion to a historian who wanted to fulfill his duty completely, especially concerning events in which he was a participant and eyewitness.

START: You spoke about open questions, about problems on which there are differing opinions. Could we open up some of those open questions here?

Dedijer: Well, since I am talking about Rankovic, one of the key questions I write a lot about, but on which I cannot yet give a decided opinion, is whether Rankovic installed equipment and did actually eavesdrop with taps and bugs on President Tito himself? I have talked about this with many people. The most eminent opinion is that of Bakaric, who says that he could not swear to it in a court, but that he believes that equipment was in fact installed to bug Tito. In any case some 15 microphones were installed in the apartment which Bakaric used when he came to Belgrade. Kardelj told me that all of 47 microphones were installed in his quarters.

Or the question of whether Andrija Hebrang actually signed the commitment that he would work for the Ustashi and Germans? According to the documentation so far accessible to us, I believe that he did sign it, but as a historian I can

make that assertion only when I have all the relevant documents in my hands. I have requested them from an institution where they ought to be, but they told me that that document had been taken by a certain person, and they told me who.

START: Are there also many things which are unclear and differing opinions concerning the tragic events in Kerestinac?

Dedijer: Well, yes. But I have presented both. I have actually checked it out: There is eight times more material from those comrades who feel that Kopinic is responsible for Kerestinac, but I also gave Kopinic. I am not able to choose: This is not a question of the Hajduk or Red Star soccer teams, so that I can root for one or the other. History, my friend, means that you have to furnish all the opinions, and then later let the future generations establish what was the truth, since we are not able to do so. I have collected everything in one place, both those who get along and those who do not get along, those who do not speak, those who even hate one another. You see, on one side a photograph of Tito and Stevo Krajacic and on the other side Tito and Kopinic. The two of them--Stevo and Kopinic--are like cats and dogs, but let the two old revolutionaries be side and side at least in Tito's book. I think that Stevo and Kopinic themselves feel that we are all Tito's children, that there is nothing else for us to do but to walk together. Since only tumultuous and terrible times are coming, times similar to those on the eve of World War II. Our ship can stay afloat only if the entire crew is deeply imbued with the idea of mutual assistance, just as then when Tito--putting an end to all the factional strife--created the unified party which was capable of carrying out the revolution.

START: You said in an interview a few months ago that you speak about Tito in your book as a great man with all his human virtues, passions and faults. Particular note was taken of that statement.

Dedijer: Tito was an unusual frank man, he did not hide anything. He was not a man for protocol, he was always running up against it, in him the charisma of the revolutionary and the charisma of the statesman were always in conflict. Here is an example. A few months before his death Tito was visited by some revolutionaries from Africa, and he took them out on the target range and showed them how one fires from an automatic rifle. That is what I liked most about him--that revolutionary charisma. Tito himself spoke to me about his passions and faults, about his attitude toward love, toward women, about his passion in playing games. Of course, there is no private life for a revolutionary and statesman, he is always under the public's microscope.

START: You also present certain details from Tito's personal life in the book?

Dedijer: If you are thinking of Tito's attitude toward women--he himself did not hide that. Just before his death, for instance, he confessed to a good friend of his that a revolutionary should never marry. It is true that I speak in the book about Tito's attitude toward his first wife Pelagija and toward his second wife Herta Haas. Both Pelagija and Herta Haas are human figures of a high caliber. I never saw Pelagija, but according to the material which I have gathered, she was a martyr who on two occasions was sentenced in the USSR to 10

years in prison. Although Herta Haas does not want to be written about for a number of reasons, I can only say that this is a great and noble revolutionary who has preserved all that revolutionary ethics from the days of her youth. It is indeed a piece of good fortune to meet such a person, especially since the conditions of life in this consumer society are grinding up the Partisan ethics of ours like a millstone.

I also write about Davorjanka Paunovic, who was with Tito during the war, whom he loved a great deal and who, poor woman, died of tuberculosis on Golnik Mountain in 1946. I obtained the last letters which Tito wrote to her in the hospital, and one can see from them the noble man that Tito was. Even after her death he continued to look out for her parents, and even now Davorjanka's mother, who is nearly 90, does not lack for protection and attention.

START: You said a man with all human virtues and faults.

Dedijer: I furnish material from which the conclusion can be drawn that Tito did have weaknesses; perhaps it would be better to say human faults. For example, like every peasant child Tito in his poverty greatly desired to have a new suit. That desire was so strong that he became a waiter only to have the nice suit. There is something to be said about Tito's faults, but one needs to be mindful of measure. Tito should be written about the way Tito was. And he was a huge figure who far surpassed all the potential of this country: the political potential, the cultural potential and also the economic potential--that is a fact. Poor service is done to that great figure by writing about him which is faithful to protocol, which elevates him to the heavens like a pharaoh, which hides his faults.

START: When we talked about Tito the first time, I recall that I was most impressed by your description of how 30 and more years ago you looked at Tito's face and were utterly unable to seize upon its dominant and stronger feature: whether it was the revolutionary's resolutenss and severity or the tenderness and sensitivity which you say he inherited from his mother. You in fact describe this in the book. We are very pleased that it is START--as you have agreed--that in its next several issues will be publishing excerpts from your book which concern Tito's sensitivity. But let us be precise: What is sensitivity?

Dedijer: It was Marko Miljanov who said that courage is overcoming evil in oneself, and heroism is overcoming evil in others. Like his great predecessors Matija Gubac and Njegos, Tito recognized the oppressed person's right to reprisal. Actually his entire life is in Njegos' lines of verse: Let the impossible happen, let the struggle be unceasing. Tito's entire philosophy of life revolves around every man's and peoples' natural right to self-defense. At his trial in Zagreb in 1928 he shouted that he did not recognize any positive laws whatsoever, but only the natural right to self-defense. But reprisal, rebellion only until the evil is conquered, and revenge, never passes over into deviation. For instance, I analyzed how Tito behaved after the war toward people who had arrested him, investigated him and tried him before the war. I can say on the basis of the historical facts that Tito did not persecute any of those people.

Marokini the state prosecutor who filed charges against him appeared with him in his memoirs on television. The more I study the documents, the more evidence I get about Tito's great sensitivity.

START: The book is finished. Now the end: Are you afraid of the criticism?

Dedijer: I fear only the criticism of my own conscience: Did I write a book in accordance with Tito's pledge or not? As for well-intentioned criticism--it can only help future historians to examine the full magnitude of Tito's deeds more fully. The criticism that comes from petty censors, petty political hacks who use every occasion to win a little point for themselves and for their own careerist gain, does not concern me. They would like to draw me as well into those toadying deceptions, but I have nothing to do with that. I know that I have raised a number of new issues and problems. No more can indeed be expected of a contemporary historian. It is up to future generations to provide better and more final answers. I believe I have performed my duty. I burned myself up on this book. I gave the manuscript of my book to a young woman to read who is a schoolteacher in Novigrad, which is in Istria. When I asked her what her impressions were, she answered me: "I am grateful to you for having brought Tito still closer to us young people. He is a great man because he is the personification of the vital force."

Disposition of Properties

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1605, 4 Oct 81 pp 22-23

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "Houses of Memories"]

[Text] "I went to Igalo for medical treatment and the staff there told me that certain federal officials from Montenegro come to the president's villa individually for treatment and that federal funds are spent for that purpose. All of these officials are preaching stabilization, but heating the swimming pool alone costs 10,000 dinars," Aleksandar Cvetkovic of Nis, delegate of the Yugoslav Assembly, said 5 days ago in support of his query: How are the former residences of President Tito being used?

At that meeting members of the Administrative Commission of the Assembly expressed dissatisfaction, to put it mildly, with the "Report on the Condition of Socially Owned Assets (Property) Used by Federal Bodies and Agencies." The Federal Secretariat for Justice and Organization of the Federal Administration has stamped that report CONFIDENTIAL. A representative of that secretariat told the delegates that this classification was necessary since the secretariat has no power to issue information on anything of which an issue is being made.

What are we actually dealing with here? The delegate's query and a portion of that report deal with the present manner of use and future purpose of Tito's residences and other properties belonging to the stock of facilities for recreation and entertainment. Most of these properties have come to be called--mistakenly--"Tito's villas," though they were built for reasons of state diplomacy. Tito did no more than stop by some of them.

As is well known, the president did not own any of these properties, and it was his last wish, expressed in 1979 in Bugojno, to donate all his property and all gifts which he had received to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, since:

"... I never considered that presents made to me in the country and abroad were my property. All that belongs to my country. It is not mine, and thus it may not belong to my closest relatives either...."

All copyrights and royalties on Tito's writings also belong to the League of Communists.

Economy and the Delegates

Aleksandar Cvetkovic said in an interview with NIN that newsmen had taken from his speech on economy only what seemed most interesting.

"For 3 years now there has been debate in the Assembly on economy, and we have even changed some things. I might just mention that previously officeholders and delegates went to the airport after the pattern 'one man in one official car.' That is no longer the case, and every 3 months we obtain a list of users of official cars and official telephones. By contrast with certain republic assemblies, delegates in the Federal Assembly pay for drinks they order for their guests. As for my query on use of the villa at Igalo, there was but one motivation: economy! Properties of this kind are expensive, and since there is no regulation on their use, though there is one for Brioni, say, few people use them, and that makes it still more expensive. If such a property is to be used, then a regulation needs to be drawn up and as many people sent there as it can accommodate," Cvetkovic told us.

Cvetkovic said that so far he has twice spent his summer vacation on Brioni in hotel facilities of the closed type whose services the users pay for. The right to use them is regulated by a regulation, though Cvetkovic feels that the right to use of such facilities should be broadened.

Several proposals have been made concerning use of the residences. Some would retain their present function, while it has been proposed that others be turned into museums, memorials, hotels, hospitals, and cultural and research facilities. It is well known that there will be more talk to come on these proposals in the Federation and also in the republics.

These facts can be reconstructed from what has so far been published on these proposals.

The working group for preserving the name and works of Comrade Tito which was formed last May by the SFRY State Presidency has prepared a general design for a Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center.

Properties and Purposes

"The new institution would have the task of offering domestic and foreign visitors a maximum of knowledge about the life and work of Josip Broz Tito, of preserving mementos of the life and creativity in the prewar period, National Liberation Struggle and revolution, postwar construction and international activity of one of the most powerful sociopolitical phenomena of contemporary history, Josip Broz Tito," our reporter was told in May by Gen Col Rahmija Kadenic, who has been commissioned to establish the memorial center.

The memorial center will consist of several museums and memorials: the House of Flowers, the 25 May Museum, the 4 July Museum, the Archives and Library, the Josip Broz Tito Museum Collection, the president's private residence at 15 Uzicka Street, where he spent most of his postwar life, the memorial island Vanga and the residence and White Villa on Brioni.

There will be no change in the purpose of Stari Dvor [Old Mansion], which serves as the residence for visiting heads of state, or Beli Dvor [White Mansion], which is the official residence of the SFRY State Presidency.

Brioni was Tito's summer residence for more than 30 years. It is a group of islands and small rocky reefs separated from the mainland by the Fazan Channel, which is 2 km wide. In all there are 14 islands stretching for about 5 km, the largest being Big and Small Brioni, though Vanga is the island best known because of the residence. Tito had had his summer residence on Vanga since 1951. Since this island will be part of the memorial center along with the White Villa on Brioni, it is probable that moderate construction of first-class tourist hotels will be allowed on the other islands. There are in any case three hotels here already for the vacations of federal and republic officials and delegates. Political meetings and assemblies have also been held on Brioni since the president's death.

Several proposals have been made concerning use of the villa in Split known as "Dalmatia." It was built before the war and is surrounded with a large park in which there are five smaller houses, two of which were built before the war, and a building to house 200 people. According to the proposals coming from Split, "Dalmatia" should become the headquarters of international institutions which are located in this city.

The villa known as "Zagorje," on the slopes of Pantovcak in Zagreb, was built of concrete and glass according to a design of Kazimir Ostrogovic and Vjenceslav Rihter, and the city of Zagreb presented it to Tito in 1965. Since May of last year several exhibitions have been held there, including the one entitled "Tito and Zagreb." This April START published a proposal that the villa "Zagorje" become the Marhsal Tito Hospital, since this would:

"... provide optimum service to the city, to the republic, and indeed to the state, and it would also most appropriately signify and preserve the memory of the man for whom this place was intended while he was alive. That is, though he was not close to medicine by profession, he did devote a large portion of his life, thought and work to peace, humanism and the well-being of MAN...."

The other residences which Tito used from time to time will be handled in diverse ways. Those whose function was primarily for entertainment and for receiving foreign statesmen, of which Brdo kod Kranja [Hill Near Kranj] serves as an example, will, it appears, retain that purpose. A proposal has been made that the villa known as "Drava" in Belje and the grounds of the Jelen Hunting and Forest Preserve continue to be used to meet the entertainment needs of the Federation. Much the same will be the case with the residence at Karadjordjevo, but most of this hunting and recreation complex, which includes a tavern, a barn and an old windmill, has already been opened to visitors.

The villa in Tito's native village Kumrovec will remain, by all appearances, part of the Kumrovec Memorial Park. The future purpose of the residence at the "Galeb" [Seagull] sanatorium in Igalo will probably be made known in the response to delegate Cvetkovic's query, while the residence "Bjelasica" in Milocer has not been completed, so that the future of that property is yet to be discussed. Agreements also have to be reached concerning the villas "Gorica" and "Koprivnica" in Bugojno.

There is an evident tendency in the agreements reached so far for some of the properties to retain their entertainment function, for some to be given new purposes, and for some of those places in which Tito lived and worked and which possess memories of his personality and work to be turned into memorials and opened to a broad public.

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DUGANOVA INTERVIEWED ON 'KOSOVO OVERPOPULATION' REMARKS

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1195, 29 Sep 81 pp 14-15

[Interview with Vaska Duganova, member of the LCY Central Committee, by Stevan Zec: "Ballist Seeds of Evil"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In the meeting of the LCY Central Committee at which the irredentist-nationalistic events in Kosovo were assessed and the causes of the counterrevolution analyzed, you, Comrade Duganova, said among other things: "There is no way for an Asian birth rate and a European standard of living." Would you please clarify this thought for us?

[Answer] People are the principal source of any country's productive potential. That is the truth. However, if the population growth considerably exceeds the growth of natural resources and the means and implements of production, the balance of the productive forces is upset. The consequences that follow are clear: not only do the economy, culture and society as a whole fail to develop in that region, but there is retrogression in every respect. This theory is confirmed in practice in our own opstinas in Macedonia, where we have a high birth rate, and that is also the case in Kosovo. Because of the excessively high natural population growth, the national income is divided up again and again, and the per capita value is constantly dropping. In every wise society population growth should be brought into line with material capabilities both of the community as a whole and also of each family. I was the eighth child in a family which had 12 members, and I know from bitter experience what it means to have one plate and a great number of wooden spoons. We never got enough to eat, we were inadequately clothed, and our childhood was not carefree by any means. For those reasons it is not only inadvisable, it is indeed even inhumane to have many children in a general and individual situation of poverty. A high birth rate means poverty both for the family as a whole and also for society. At this point someone will immediately put the question: What has happened to our well-known solidarity in helping such families and such regions or provinces? We are indeed doing that. By law we are appropriating money for the underdeveloped regions and to meet general needs there: schools, the health service, culture.... But even solidarity must have its limits. What sort of solidarity is it when, say, a Slovene allocates money from his work not only to give schooling, medical treatment and enlightenment to his own one or two children, but also to the six, eight or nine children of someone else. How can we interpret and defend that

kind of solidarity? Is it solidarity and humanism when someone only gives birth to children, while others out of solidarity are supposed to furnish the money for their childhood? Finally, why can we not understand that the greatness of a people or nationality has nothing to do with the size of its population, but depends on what those people do and how much they contribute by their labor.

Similarities and Differences

[Question] The counterrevolutionary events this spring in Kosovo had repercussions even in Macedonia or, more accurately, in that part of the republic where Albanians live. Are there any specific peculiarities of those repercussions, or is this a spread of the hostile activity?

[Answer] Events in Kosovo have always had a direct impact on the situation in SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia. There are several reasons: geographic proximity, the level of development of transportation connections and the fair number of young Albanians who live in SR Macedonia, but who are attending school in SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Kosovo. By contrast with Kosovo, though no exhaustive analysis has yet been completed of the events in our republic themselves, it is already clear that the participants in the demonstrations were of a different makeup, both the leaders and the led. In some places in Macedonia the demonstrators were led mainly by young people who came from Ballist families [the reference is to the Albanian political organization Balli Kombtar]. That is, the fathers, grandfathers, uncles and other relatives of a majority of them had been Ballists during the war or had helped them and sheltered them. By contrast it is well known that a majority of the demonstrators in Pristina, for example, consisted of young people from very poor peasant families whose political past was unblemished up to now. The linkup of the enemy in these two regions was also hastened by the fact that almost all those noted down as enemies in the 1968 events had moved from Macedonia to Kosovo. On the other hand, after the 1968 demonstrations those who were convicted of hostile activity in Kosovo found jobs in various places in SR Macedonia, mainly as teachers.

The Exodus From Kosovo

[Question] According to the results of the population census, as of 31 March of this year there were 375,004 Albanians living in SR Macedonia. In the census 10 years ago 279,871 inhabitants of Macedonia declared themselves to be Albanian. Is that the result of the birth rate or of migration?

[Answer] There is a constant pressure or, to put it better, effort for Albanians to move out of Kosovo into SR Macedonia. I could not say whether the reason for this is exclusively economic, but the phenomenon does exist. Here is an example: Over the last 10 years 10,000 Albanians have moved into Tetovo Opstina alone. This confuses me a bit, since here is evidence that it is not just the Serbs and Montenegrins that are moving out of there, but also Albanians. Macedonians, Turks and Albanians have lived intermixed in Macedonia for centuries. More or less in peace and harmony, depending on the historical conditions. However, things began to change at the point when SAP Kosovo began to interfere in political issues and relations among the nationalities in Macedonia. Here is

an example: In our republic in 1968 a certain number of elementary and secondary schoolteachers were convicted of having organized demonstrations and were proven to be inveterate nationalists and irredentists. Immediately thereafter there was an intervention by the politicians of that time in Pristina: How is it that you there in Macedonia are sentencing people to 6, 8 or 10 years in prison for crimes which a court in Pristina would give lighter sentences? In Kosovo that same year, 1968, though the demonstrations were larger than here, the court recorded and convicted fewer participants, and most of them were merely taken before justices of the peace. As time passed, in 1969, 1970, and 1971, the interventions became more frequent, so that not a single Albanian convicted in Macedonia served his full sentence. I think that in 1971 all those people were free. A friend of mine, at that time a member of the republic commission for clemency, was embittered. I remember his telling me: "Well, if at least they had written a petition for a pardon, but they did not want to do even that, and they were released from prison." A list simply arrived of those who were to be freed from further serving of their sentence. Almost all of those released from prison went to Kosovo and immediately got jobs there. There were even cases when they became university professors and even doctors of science in Pristina.

We did not have the same attitude and yardstick concerning Albanian nationalism and irredentism, neither then nor now....

[Question] What do you mean, "now"?

[Answer] This is what I mean. Our security service in Macedonia saw back in 1979 that something major was cooking. They began to monitor suspicious groups in Tetovo, Gostivar, Debar.... However, the "subject" crossed the Macedonian border and went off into Kosovo. Our police sent the Kosovo police information that so-and-so of such-and-such characteristics had crossed from Macedonia into Kosovo. The Kosovo police would say thank you to the Macedonian police for the information--and that was that. That was happening right up until this year's demonstrations. In March when the first disorders broke out in Pristina, some of the comrades in Kosovo judged that those disorders were the result of failure to resolve the nationality question of Albanians living in SR Macedonia, SR Montenegro and SR Serbia. To the effect that Albanians in those three republics were not allowed to express their nationality identity and so they were now rebelling and demonstrating in Pristina. It was also said that the principal demonstrators in Pristina in March were almost exclusively those who work and live in Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia, and they had gone to Kosovo only to demonstrate. I personally was told by a delegate in the Macedonian Assembly that this is the case and that therefore a university with instruction in Albanian should be opened in Tetovo, and he also asked me why official titles in Skopje were not written in two languages: Macedonian and Albanian? Only later, in April and May, did it become evident that this was a real counterrevolution which the comrades in Kosovo slept through.

The Case With the Strawberries

[Question] What are the relations among the nationalities in, say, Tetovo or Gostivar?

[Answer] So far not a single case of someone moving out has been reported, nor even a hint of that. The trouble lies in the large influx of population from all regions of Macedonia to Skopje, but that migration is of altogether different origin, and not a consequence of any sort of pressure, political or nationalistic. I would like at this point to say that immediately after the events this spring there was also a backlash by the population in SR Macedonia toward the Albanians living here. The very first days, above all at the open-air vegetable market in Skopje. Skopje is indeed supplied in large part with farm products from that area, the environs of Gostivar and Tetovo. I remember the case with strawberries. Strawberries are a perishable fruit, and if the peasant does not sell them today at the market, tomorrow they are ready to be thrown away. However, this spring at the Skopje market not a single seller wearing a white cap on his head had customers, and no one wanted to buy his goods. A lot of strawberries spoiled. This was even debated by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, since revanchism does not lead anywhere. There were also boycotts of shops for sweets and pastries owned by Albanians, but only during the period of the fiercest demonstrations. Recently there has been no backlash, since everyone realized that we would impose very severe penalties, at least we in Macedonia, for any nationalism, whether it be Albanian or Macedonian.

Pressure on the Torbesi

[Question] Would you please explain to us the case of the Macedonian Moslems which occurred immediately before this year's population census in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] This is an ethnic group which is Moslem in its faith. But they do not speak either Turkish or Albanian, but Macedonian. In Macedonia they have come to be called Torbesi. Just before the population census this year there was pressure for these people to declare themselves to be Albanians rather than the way they felt. There were also cases where certain censustakers in our republic, who did their jobs unlawfully in that they tried to persuade people how to declare themselves, were suspended or even penalized. Immediately before the census there was the case of the population of Dragas in SAP Kosovo. This is an opstina which is right on the border between Kosovo and Macedonia. A delegation of people from there came to Skopje and asked help from the Macedonian Republic Conference of the SAWP so that they would be allowed in the census to declare themselves according to their wishes. Then comrades came to Skopje from the Kosovo Provincial Conference of the SAWP for talks, after which a joint communique was issued for the public which only confirmed our constitutional principle that every citizen of the SFRY may freely declare his nationality according to his feelings and that any pressure on the individual is unconstitutional and unlawful.

[Question] Quite a few competitions have been noted in daily newspapers published in Macedonia for Albanian-language teachers for schools in SR Macedonia. One gets the impression that there will not be enough of those to replace the suspended teachers who were involved in hostile activity.

[Answer] That is true. If there are not enough teachers to give instruction in Albanian, some sciences like, say, mathematics, will be taught to Albanian children in Macedonia by teachers using Macedonian. Incidentally, after the events this spring a detailed selection was made in the schools in SR Macedonia which have instruction in Albanian. A curriculum is already being drafted for the political-ideological training of teachers of Albanian nationality who have been teaching in our republic. We found that the greatest influence was felt in those places which border on the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and SAP Kosovo. Albanians living in other places in Macedonia behaved very openly in those events, and even contributed to clearing up certain matters. For example, some time ago there were two major military exercises of territorial defense and certain specialized units in the vicinity of Skopje. One night participants in those exercises spent the night in several villages which belong to Kisela Voda Opstina. They were assigned to houses, both Macedonian and Albanian. There were more hosts than guests, and some houses did not get a single soldier to spend the night. A delegation of offended Albanian peasants came to the opstina headquarters the first thing in the morning to protest: Why had no one come to spend the night in their houses? They asked: Don't you trust us?

People Allergic to Public Statements

[Question] Comrade Duganova, in the LCY Central Committee you have stated insistently that timely and complete information is the principal precondition for us to avoid surprises of this kind in the future. What lapses were there in the supplying of information?

[Answer] After the Kosovo events we have presumably derived a good lesson as to where erroneous or incomplete information takes us. It is certain that the counterrevolution in Kosovo would not have the proportions it did had there been timely news about what was happening there. You have seen yourself how many people are sensitive when it comes to providing information from their own milieu. When that news is going further and even reaching the general public, especially when it is a question of something that is not what it should be. And that is not a good thing. We have become sensitive not only to the local, the provincial and the republic news media, but also to the interrepublic news media. As if there were some unwritten law to the effect that news is to be stopped at the border. It is regarded as a real sin on the part of the newsman, but also the source of information, when any bad news crosses the border of the opstina or administrative boundary, the province or the republic. In my opinion this is a case of petty bourgeois vanity, and nothing good can come of it.

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VUKMANOVIC TEMPO INTERVIEWED ON NATIONAL QUESTIONS

Belgrade RAD in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 81 pp 4-6

[Interview with Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo, member of the Council of the Federation, by RAD editor Vuk Draskovic in Rezevici: "Not To Turn Away From the Truth"; date not specified]

> [Text] The complexity of our present moment, which arises out of the insufficiently consistent resolution of certain contradictions manifested at the present stage in development of our socialist self-management, requires a constant search for ways of reaching the road plotted under Tito's leadership in the crucial stages of our revolution. One of these tireless explorers is Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo, member of the Council of the Federation and one of Tito's close comrades in arms for many years. Recently our editor Vuk Draskovic visited Comrade Vukmanovic in Rezevici and talked with him about how he sees the accumulated problems which our society confronts, about what Tito had said to him about the spirit of community among the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia, about the upcoming 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia....

[Question] On my way to see you I was reflecting on the point at which I should begin this interview, on what I should ask you first. And how should I conduct the interview? Roundabout and with caution as though I were walking through a mine field, or openly, without kid gloves, in the only way--it seems to me--that one can talk with Svetozar Vukmanovic?

[Answer] Well, it is my way to speak frankly. I have always felt that we have a duty to speak the truth, however unpleasant the reverberations might be. Uttering the truth, I am deeply persuaded, cannot undermine the foundations either of our revolution or of the system. Bitterness and trouble come only from keeping the problems quiet, from embellishing reality and from evading the truth.

[Question] You abhor, then, Potemkin villages?

[Answer] Exactly so. To illustrate, I remember something that happened 20 years ago, when I headed the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions. I had gone to visit a factory, I think it was the factory in Smederevska Palanka. There was a whole group of officials with me, we were looking over the machines and exchanging words with the workers as we went along. Happening to drop back a bit, I heard a worker say to his comrades: "Just see how many rats are around him." That's just the way he said it. That was his comment on that show of ours, that dialogue on the run as we passed the machines. And the man was right. Machines are machines, and a job is a job. What could Tempo or anyone else say to them in that din, and what could they say to him? Nothing, just hinder them in their work. It was then that I decided never again to conduct those hollow and pretentious conversations in passing....

[Question] Does that mean that you avoided visits to factories and among the workers?

[Answer] No, by no means. I was glad to go there, but for frank debates and conversations, not courtesy visits. A meeting would be called, and not just the management personnel and activists would be invited, but above all the workers. And then people would talk about everything that was galling them, openly, without beating about the bush and without the embellished words used to cover over the truth. I always endeavored to talk with the workers face to face, eye to eye, without the help of their representatives and translators.

[Question] Who are these "translators" whom you avoided? Do they exist even today, or are they only an unpleasant memory and material for your memoirs?

[Answer] If only it was just a question of the past and memories.... If that were so, a large burden would fall from socialism and self-management. But unfortunately I fear that there are more of them today and that they are stronger, more perfidious, better allied than 20 years ago.

[Question] Fine, but you did not say who these "translators" are.

[Answer] Who are they? The technocracy and the professional managers, beginning with the OOUR and going all the way to the provincial, republic and federal administration.

[Question] Two decades ago, when you were chairman of the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions, you threw up the gauntlet to precisely that stratum. During the war and for a long time after the war you won every battle. How did it go in that struggle: Was it really your first lost battle?

[Answer] Let us understand one another straight off. That battle was not mine alone, but it is true that it was lost at that time.

[Question] It was on Tito's initiative that you went to head the Federation of Trade Unions?

[Answer] That is right. Early in that year, in 1958, a major strike broke out of the miners in Trbovlje. To be sure, it only lasted 2 days, but it resounded like thunder in a clear sky. The workers had gone on strike for the first time since the victory of the socialist revolution in Yugoslavia. This was a true shock. It was particularly puzzling that the strike should have occurred in a period when the economy was in full swing and growing. After all, the year 1957 was our most successful postwar economic year. So, it was in that context that the miners in Trbovlje raised their voice of protest. What were they rebelling against? That question required an urgent and clear answer. That is why a delegation at the highest level was immediately sent to Trbovlje; Kardelj, Rankovic and Todorovic went to the scene....

[Question] And what did they report upon their return to Belgrade?

[Answer] They came back with the report that the self-management rights which the workers had under our laws of that time had been usurped in the mine and appropriated by those "translators" I was just speaking about. By the bureaucratic-managerial elite in the mine. It was that elite which assigned workers to jobs, determined salaries, issued discharge slips to those who were insubordinate, and so on. By and large the workers did not have power, though they had it under the letter of the law. This revolted them and drove them to go on strike for their rights and for the power guaranteed them by self-management....

[Question] And at that time Tito made the decision for you to go to head the Federation of Trade Unions?

[Answer] I was regarded as a potential nominee for chairman of the Council of the Federation of Trade Unions even before the strike. Nevertheless, the events in Trbovlje were, it seems, decisive. Tito summoned me and said approximately this: /the laws are obviously not being respected. The only thing the miners have demanded is actually that the right guaranteed by self-management not be taken away from them. I think that the trade unions have to become vigorous, to aid the struggle for self-management, and I think that you ought to go to work in the trade unions./ [in boldface]

[Question] And you went off to the battle in which, as you yourself acknowledge, you were defeated?

[Answer] Well, it seems that that was the way it had to be.... The situation which I came upon was more than alarming. The power was in the hands of the government administration and the buresucratic-managerial elite in the enterprises. Those were [illegible]ons favorable for an alliance to come about between them. There were e[illegible]ial advantages involved for both sides. Certain people in the governme[illegible]inistration determined the conditions for the conduct of economic activity without appealing to any sort of principles, by eye, right across the board. They would grant privileged conditions to their individual favorites in the economy, whether they were industries or enterprises--lower taxes, lower customs duties or higher prices--and the latter would in return rig up some job contract, some material favor in return, and so on. Self-management served both, both those above and those below, as a blind, as a screen behind which they wielded power to their own benefit and liking.

[Question] And what did the Federation of Trade Unions undertake?

[Answer] Two radical and very important things. First, we proposed that every production unit be organized as an independent work unit or economic unit in which the price on their products would be set and in which the workers would dispose of the total income which they earned in the most direct manner. And second, so that direct self-management within the work unit could come to life, we called upon the Federation to ensure the same conditions for conduct of economic activity for each grouping engaged in the same kind of production. What did that mean? That meant that in each grouping engaged in the same kind of production conditions would be created so that they could realize equal personal incomes on the average. Within groupings, within enterprises, within work units, fluctuations were possible, but this would depend on the performance of the individual participants.

[Question] Doesn't that work unit resemble the basic organization of associated labor we now have?

[Answer] That is absolutely right. Except that this one now has become so institutionalized and independent that it has grown into an enterprise. Aside from that, the administration has overflowed and makes the decisions in the name of the workers. But in that other case there was not to be any sort of administration. There was only to be the social accounting service at the level of the enterprise that would work out the total balance sheet of income and expenditures of each economic unit and would regularly send this to them. Then the workers would sit down and say: so here we are, the price of the product is so much and so much, and the cost of materials so much and so much, subtract production costs, subtract for expanded reproduction, subtract for depreciation, subtract for social services, and divide up the remainder. How? By job slots, depending on the results each individual achieved in his work. If you did not fulfill your work obligation, then not only would you receive a thinner pay envelope, but you would be required to compensate for the loss which you had inflicted on the other workers by your idleness. The workers themselves would make the decisions on all that, the professional managers would be excluded.

[Question] And why were you not successful in that effort?

[Answer] Well, there was a great deal of resistance.

[Question] Who was against it?

[Answer] The opposition consisted, first of all, of the Organizational and Political Secretariat, as well as many others who occupied important posts in the party leadership and government administration whom I will not name. There was opposition from those who lose thereby: the professional managers in enterprises and the bureaucrats in the government administration, as well as certain people in the party leadership. They all felt that they were losing their privileged positions. I called upon the party to get behind this thing, since this was the time when the party had the strength to do that, and it could have done it. I was told in the Organizational and Political Secretariat that these

were issues which had not been cleared up and that the party would not get involved and lose its prestige.... Then we proposed that both things--direct self-management in the work unit and equalized conditions for the conduct of economic activity--be incorporated in the 1963 Constitution. We were successful, but only partially. The position was adopted that the social community--the Federation--would take from the economy that portion of income which is not earned by the work of the workers, but is the result of various forms of rent, of monopoly position on the market, and so on. The general needs of society were to be met from that source. The concept of direct self-management in the work unit was so mutilated by various compromises, however, that for all practical purposes it was rejected.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] With the excuse that this would mean parcelization of the economy.

[Question] But, as far as I know, Tito supported both demands of the trade unions.

[Answer] True, true. Tito did support us, but it turned out that even that was not enough. No attempt was ever made to carry it out in practice, but the principle of equalizing conditions for the conduct of economic activity was accepted. The official formulation was to the effect that this was administrative regulation. It was said that this was unfeasible. Implementation had not even begun, but it was already "found" that this could not be done. Others were somewhat milder and concluded that the economy would equalize the conditions for conduct of activity on its own through operation of the laws of the average rate of profit. But that is nonsense. Operation of the average rate of profit is a typical capitalist category. Indeed, even in modern capitalism the government intervenes to transfer capital from one industry to another, since it does not want to allow economic chaos and anarchy. And in the context of social ownership of the means of production the possibilities for operation of that law are reduced to zero....

[Question] The position was taken at the Eighth Congress of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions that conditions for the conduct of economic activity needed to be objectified.

[Answer] Yes, but even that is a kind of compromise solution. Equalization of conditions for the conduct of activity is looked upon as just one of the "measures" in the economic system. But in actuality this is a conception. If conditions for the conduct of economic activity are not equalized, there is no distribution according to labor, nor is there harmonious development of the economy. Nor is there planning that conforms to the context of self-management, since under those conditions planning must come down to creation of conditions for the conduct of the economic activity which guarantee both distribution according to work and harmonious development of the economy, as well as operation of the market in the sense that it is on the market that the socially necessary work time for each production process of the same kind and socially useful work is verified, rather than the individual work done for each production process.

and so on. Unless we resolve that issue, then there will be cases, say, when the person who sits in the thermal electric power plant and presses a button earns 4.5-fold more than the miner who mines the coal for that plant....

In the party group which worked on Bled to edit the well-known 1968 Guidelines, which adopted after the student demonstrations, I presented a drastic example to the comrades. I said: Because of the privileged position of the electric power industry and because the Cetina Hydroelectric Power Plant has a high head and plenty of water, its average earnings could be 8,000 dinars, as against 800 dinars which were average earnings at that time in Yugoslavia. Fine, I said, we can establish by agreement how much the average earnings of workers in each grouping carrying on production of the same kind are to be. In that way we might bring it about that the earnings of workers in that power plant not exceed 1,000 dinars. But what is achieved thereby? The power plant will have fivefold larger funds and will invest capital in other enterprises and other branches which are also privileged and will derive a fat profit from that. On the basis of that profit it will share out large surpluses and will objectively come into a situation where it can shut off the most productive power plant and live off the profit of someone else's labor. And what answer was made to me? Well, if they can manage it, let them close down the power plant!

[Question] Who said that to you?

[Answer] Who said it to me? Are we to make an issue of that and solve the problem? I said: then it is all up with distribution according to labor--in its place we will establish distribution according to capital invested on the one hand and fixed salaries for the workers on the other. And I think that is what did happen.

[Question] You mean to say....

[Answer] I said what I meant.... In that discussion on Bled I also was in disagreement with the concept adopted for relations between the advanced and underdeveloped regions in Yugoslavia. The position adopted was that we must protect ourselves from the West with tariffs. Otherwise we will remain an economic appendage furnishing raw materials. I said: fine, but let us also follow that same logic within our own country. Let us break down the relations which objectively facilitate the creation and maintenance of metropolises and peripheries furnishing raw materials.

[Question] You seem to be calling into a question the very constitutional concept of our economy?

[Answer] And why shouldn't we undertake certain amendments of the constitution? Who guarantees and would anyone dare to guarantee that all the constitutional provisions represent a perfection to which neither criticism nor objections can be addressed. It is written down in the LCY Program that /nothing is so sacred and perfect that it cannot be still better, still more perfect..../ [in boldface] In that same program, which I have just recently been studying once again and underlining certain passages, it is written that the principal vehicles of

socialist development are in the base of society: the producer, the work collective, the commune and socialist sociopolitical organizations. No mention is made of the republic as a vehicle of economic development. But in the constitution the vehicles of economic development are the republics and provinces; they must agree on every issue in the domain of the movement and development of the economy. Or again, the principle is set down in the party program that the social plan of Yugoslavia is to ensure harmonious development of the economy, economic stability, equalization of conditions for the conduct of economic activity, etc. Decisions on all these matters are to be made in the Chamber of Producers of Yugoslavia. The role of the republics comes down to drafting programs for development of the productive forces, but within the limits of the revenues which they realize in their jurisdictions under equal conditions for all individuals and for all economic organizations. There is none of all that in the constitution. The Chamber of Producers no longer exists. Now agreements are made on all matters concerning conduct of economic activity by representatives--delegates--in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces instead of by delegates of the workers in the Chamber of Producers. The gap between them is obvious. The workers are not entering into agreement with one another directly, through their delegations, but indirectly, through the delegates of the republics as states. And this cannot but create relations in decisionmaking that bypass the workers, cannot but create power centers alienated from the workers, and so on.

[Question] Judging by the applause at the Third Congress of Self-Managers, the workers have voiced a decisive No to these statisms and to the parcelization of Yugoslavia?

[Answer] Yes, they have voiced it.... But I, though I spoke at the congress, have failed to say one thing, I didn't think of it. But I would propose that the Congress of Self-Managers be the principal chamber in the SFRY Assembly, the one in which relations in production and distribution among the branches and groupings of the economy would be resolved. That in such a chamber the workers enter into direct agreement on equalization of conditions for conduct of economic activity for groupings engaged in the same kind of production, that is, agreements on prices, tariffs, the turnover tax on products and rebates whereby that equalization would be achieved. And they would enter into agreements concerning relations in distribution of the total income realized for productive and nonproductive expenditure for each grouping engaged in production of the same kind. And nothing more than that. That would be the framework within which the workers in organizations of associated labor would be altogether independent in making further decisions in production and distribution. The consequence would be that not a single social service or nonproduction sector would be able to realize larger material income than those in production. Then our children would not be grasping for office jobs, and we would not have to force them and drive them, through what is called targeted education, into what are referred to as worker occupations.... Direct self-management and--related to that--equalization of conditions for conduct of economic activity represents the only strategy and the only way, among other things, of preserving the unified Yugoslav economy and a unified Yugoslavia....

[Question] We have full-fledged theoretical debates being conducted concerning the economies of the republics, of the nationalities, economies which have been rounded off. The advocates of this concept assert that this is the way of guaranteeing prosperity and ethnic equality.

[Answer] That is the road that leads to a shattering of Yugoslavia. Let us guarantee every citizen of Yugoslavia access to a job under equal conditions, equal income for equal work, a place to live and all the political, cultural and self-management rights at any place in Yugoslavia--wouldn't that resolve the issue of ethnic, religious, linguistic ... equality?!

[Question] But have we guaranteed those things?

[Answer] No, we haven't, unfortunately. We are cutting ourselves off and setting up barriers in "our own republics," in "our own communities," in "our own yards." I am seriously concerned and afraid that this course will not bring anything good either to the working class or to Yugoslavia. Nothing good. Indeed, I said as much to Tito on the eve of the 11th LCY Congress.

[Question] What did you say to him?

[Answer] We had a talk on Brioni under a tent for more than 3 hours. I asked him at the very outset of the conversation: /"Old Man, what is happening to Yugoslavia?"/ [in boldface] In the manner peculiar to him Tito started, and I knew that he had understood what my question referred to. What he said was literally this: /"There is no Yugoslavia if we continue on this way. There will be eight dwarfish and economically autarkic little states which cannot enjoy the kind of prestige in the world they might have."/ [in boldface]

[Question] What else did Tito say to you at that time?

[Answer] I asked him: "If that is so, Old Man, why don't you do something, everyone would do what you say?" He responded with a question: "And why are you silent, why don't you do something?" I said: "Who is that 'you' you are referring to, Old Man?" Tito waved his hand: "It is clear who I am referred to, to you old revolutionaries and party members, and to you among them, Tempo." Then he added, in a rather worried voice: "I believed and I hoped that the working class would integrate Yugoslavia...." I asked him what he thought about the party, did it dare run the risk of being broken up among the republics and provinces so that the LCY would become a federation of eight independent parties? Tito came back like a shot: "Certainly not that! The party must remain unified." We talked for a long time and in detail about many problems, and we agreed in all respects. He was surprised when I told him certain things....

[Question] What things?

[Answer] I cannot and I do not wish to speak about everything we discussed, at least for the present. Those are things I will say as I continue my memoirs, which I am writing at a rapid pace. I can only say this: When Tito rebuked me and certain other old revolutionaries for our passive behavior, I was unable to

restrain myself and told him that for all of 3 years before that meeting I had been trying unsuccessfully to reach him, to get access to Tito. I wrote to his office, but in vain. I was continually informed that the president is busy.... When we parted, Tito said to me: "Come as often as you can, whenever you deem it necessary for us to have a little talk."

[Question] You said that for 3 years you had tried in vain to get Tito to see you. How, then, did you succeed in reaching him?

[Answer] I don't know. On the advice of certain comrades, I addressed Tito directly. I wrote to him that I would be making a critical statement at the 11th congress and that I would like to talk to him directly before that. And what happened? Just a few days had passed when I received a call from the post office in Petrovac. A woman was on the other end and she said: "Comrade Tempo, yesterday a Mrs Brioni was urgently seeking you and left a number for you to call." That is exactly what she said, that a "Mrs Brioni" was asking for me. I supposed at once that Tito had received my letter and that someone in the Old Man's office was trying to find me. He received me immediately after that.... But even on that occasion I was not notified through my office in Belgrade, but through the post office in Petrovac.

[Question] As far as you know, was Tito preparing a radical showdown with the provincial and republic statisms, that is, with the tendencies to parcelize Yugoslavia?

[Answer] He certainly was. That was made evident in his closing address at the 11th LCY Congress, not to mention the initiative concerning the 1-year term of office which he took at the Eighth Congress of the Federation of Trade Unions. It is no accident that he said at that congress that he was well aware that the political bureaucracy was hindering the workers from taking the management of production and distribution into their own hands. He was looking for a way and a means of breaking up, of cutting the knots, of bureaucracy, of factionalism and of usurpation of self-management. For example, as far as I can remember, he was calling for the chairmen of the League of Communists in the republics to be replaced a year before the republic congresses were held. Obviously he was looking for a way of selecting with more freedom the personnel for new leadership bodies. I am convinced that it was in pursuit of that goal that he proposed the calling of the Third Congress of Self-Managers. He wanted to appeal to the workers and seek their support.

[Question] The republic and provincial borders have in many respects become boundaries that separate. Those who are setting up those boundaries are appealing to the revolution--they say that that is indeed what we fought for.

[Answer] That is nonsense. Both during and after the revolution those boundaries were regarded as fine and barely noticeable lines in a single block of marble. In fact during the war we believed that the boundaries would even vanish between the Balkan States.... Immediately after the liberation I was driving with Mosa Pijade over Cakor Mountain. When we came upon a stone there which on one side read /People's Republic of Serbia/ and on the other /People's Republic of Montenegro/. [in boldface] Mosa asked that we stop, got out of the car

and pushed that stone over. He said: "We have been fighting all our lives against divisions and borders, and now we are looking at boundaries between states even within Yugoslavia."

[Question] Would he have a hard time today because of such an action?

[Answer] Indeed he would. Today they would immediately label him a unitarist, a hegemonist and I don't know what else.

[Question] What nationality are you, Comrade Tempo?

[Answer] A Yugoslav, what else would I be? I am not a Serb. I am a Montenegrin only by birth. A Yugoslav. An internationalist. Back in 1946, as a deputy from Montenegro, I wrote down that I was a Yugoslav. I also declared myself to be a Yugoslav in that period of Savka and Tripalo, when that was regarded as treason.

[Question] Were you younger, you would have a hard time getting your name on a list of personnel as a Yugoslav. We have representatives of the Serbs, of the Croats, of the Albanians, of the Slovenes ... but there is no representative of the Yugoslavs.

[Answer] No, there isn't. But there will be, there has to be. There are more and more mixed marriages, and the young people are oriented toward Yugoslavism. This cannot be prevented.

[Question] Will our present republics and ethnic divisions be confronted with a great challenge at the moment when several million people in Yugoslavia state in the blank marked "nationality" that they are Yugoslavs?

[Answer] That will happen. It will happen soon. See what is happening in America. People of various nationalities settled there. They are settling there even today. And they all feel themselves to be Americans.... What is happening in western Europe? The state companies are unifying, a unified market is being created, and even a European Parliament. But we--we are doing everything backwards. We are moving apart and are proclaiming those divisions to be unity and self-management consensus.

[Question] So, what is to be done?

[Answer] Let us fight, let us not allow them to divide and separate us. This is a cause in which you newspaper people can help quite a bit. Write, strike blows against the bureaucracy, strike blows against separatism, and spare only one thing: do no harm to self-management and Yugoslavia. Socialism and Yugoslavia--those must be our reference points. Only that. Of course, I cannot imagine Yugoslavia without equality among the nationalities. But the way I conceive that equality of nationalities is that we build a self-managing and socialist social community in which every man has the right to work and his material income depends on his work regardless of the nationality to which he belongs. After all, I learned from Marx that in a society in which exploitation

of man by man has been abolished there are no conditions for emergence of exploitation of one nationality by another. That is basically the way relations among the nationalities have been set up in the program of our party. Only on that foundation can we successfully build the equality of the nationality from the political, cultural or any other standpoint. Only under such conditions can we prevent the struggle for equality of the nationalities from becoming a struggle for the equality of the bureaucracies of the various nationalities.

[Question] Before you retired, while you were still an officeholder, were you ever publicly criticized in the press by name?

[Answer] Yes, many times. On one occasion almost all the directors of business firms attacked me in a meeting of the Economic Chamber of Belgrade. They referred to my television speech in favor of forming work units as sabotage, an attempt to break up the Yugoslav economy.

[Question] You were realistically in a position to pull the chairs out from under certain of those critics and to pin labels on them.

[Answer] That I never did. It never occurred to me to do that. Socialist democracy simply cries out for dialogue, for debate, for a contest between differing views and opinions. Without that, without that "draft," there is neither creativity nor self-management. And we lack dialogue, frank conversation, however bitter that conversation might taste to some people or however much it might jeopardize their official posts, their comfort, their good night's sleep and social position.

[Question] I would remind you of a conversation which Lenin had with Bukharin, I see that you are reading Bukharin. This is the passage where Lenin cautions the Bolsheviks that without debate and freedom of criticism there is no democracy either in society or in the party....

[Answer] Right. Bukharin told Lenin on his sickbed that there were quite a few "insubordinates" in the party, mainly intellectuals who did not respect the established authorities and who were calling for public and open debate of all the key issues of socialism. Stalin was in favor of reading these "insubordinates" out of the party. When Lenin heard that, he reacted with a strident and prophetic warning that if that happened the party would soon become a party of docile fools. That is what he said. I always remember that when I hear the anemic and formula-ridden speechifying in our delegate assemblies, in congresses, in working meetings. As though the speaker's main goal was not to "distinguish" himself, to avoid saying anything "suspicious," to be sure not to offend anyone. Whatever is proposed by the forum or some established authority within the forum is accepted without objection, by acclimation. There is no dialogue, there are no sparks, no fresh air is let in, and there is no critical and creative spirit urging progress. In my opinion that is one of the key reasons for the stagnation of self-management and the flood tide of all those bad manifestations I have been talking about.

[Question] Are the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress an occasion for frank talk about these problems?

[Answer] I think that the situation has been created in the development of production and distribution and in social relations that necessitates radical changes. If the situation that has been created is to be changed, a discussion will have to be opened up among party members, without restriction and without name calling to the effect that some position is regarded as opposed to self-management if it calls for amendment of certain provisions of the constitution. We should not undertake to hold the 12th congress without that kind of broad and open discussion.

And something else. At the 12th congress there ought to be open discussion of how it came about that we got into this situation. Was it a question of unrealistic relations which were supposed to be established on the basis of the new constitution and law? Or is it that the personnel were not competent or did not know how to apply the constitutional provisions in practice or to see that it was impossible to implement all the provisions in practice? And so on, and so on. Whichever of these alternatives or all of them together is involved, the accountability of the party members, the leaders above all, who contributed to creation of this situation must not fail to come about before the 12th congress. After all, these relations have persisted for years and have not been changing. And they did not fall from the sky.

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18 Nov. 1981